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Life Depicted in Ancient Indian Ivory Carvings

BY

VINOD P. DWIVEDI

From the dawn of history ivory has always had a special fascination for the artists and craftsmen. Most of the great cultures of the world have known and practised the art of ivory carving. Antiquity of Indian ivory carving (including bone carvings) goes back to Harappan[1] and Neolithic[2] periods. Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Lothal as well as the Neolithic sites of Burzhom, Chirand etc. have yielded many bone and ivory items. But not much attention has been paid to these articles because of their small size and easy perishability. Even when mentioned in the excavation reports they are often found without details and illustrations. These factors make their thorough study very difficult. However, we will try to put together whatever little evidence can be gathered from these reports and will try to examine as to how ivory and bone carvings can help us in constructing the history of our material culture.

It is surprising to note that whereas the Harappan remains have yielded a number of ivory items, the neolithic excavations at Burzhom, Chirand and other places have mostly brought forth bone carvings. Hardly any ivory item of significance has been discovered from these sites. This fact not only attests to the urbanity of the Harappan remains, but also points to the limited knowledge and resources of the neolithic residents of these sites. The neolithic people were contented, it seems, to use the bones of animals they were killing for their food, for carvings in their leisure

1. (i) Marshall, J. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931.
   (ii) Mackay, E. J. H., *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Delhi*, 1938.
   (iii) Vats, M. S., *Excavation at Harappa*, Delhi, 1941.
2. (i) *I. A. R.* 1960-61; 1961-62; 1962-63.
   (ii) Narain, Lala Aditya, 'The Neolithic settlement at Chirand', *The Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LVI, pt. I, IV, p. 34.

time as these were readily available. In certain cases antler was also used for, such carvings, specially for weapons and tools.[3] On the other hand the Harappans, living in Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Lothal and other cities, were extensively using ivory for carving utilitarian items. The affluence and surplus food-grains of these Harappan cities could afford to maintain ivory carvers among themselves, as attested by the find of two tusks at Mohenjodaro amidst nine human skeletons.[4] The fact that arm bones of burial seven were almost touching one of these tusks make it even more convincing. The way the bodies were heaped shows that they were clinging to their ivory tusks even in the face of catastrophe. This also shows that ivory was a valuable item for the Harappans and that the invaders, whosoever they may have been, had no use for these tusks and that is why they were left behind with the deads.

The ivories also help us in establishing that elephant must have been a domesticated animal in those days[5] and that ivory was available locally.[6] Besides numerous finds of ivory at Harappa and two elephant tusks at Mohenjodaro, Lothal has also yielded an elephant's tusk and a piece of ivory sawn from it.[7] The evidence shows that the use of ivory was quite extensive in the Harappan times.

The discovery of an ivory comb near the skull of a woman at Mohenjodaro[8] points to the possibility of its being actually worn in the hair. Fragments of comb usually show deeply incised circles as decorations (fig. 1). To add to their beauty these circles were filled with black or vermillion pigments. That the people of Mohenjodaro believed in elaborate coiffure is attested by the bronze dancing girl's hair-do.[9] A good number of hair pins found in the excavations further lend weight to this conclusion. Some of

3. *Ibid.*
4. Mackay, E., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 117.
5. Zeuner, F. E., *A History of Domesticated Animals*, London, 1963, p. 286.
6. Finds of two tusks at Mohenjodaro and another at Lothal, besides numerous items of ivory yielded by Harappan sites make it evident that ivory was readily available locally.
7. Rao, S. R., 'Further excavation at Lothal,' *Lalit Kala*, No. 11, p. 23.
8. Mackay, E. *op. cit*., p. 116.
9. Marshall, John, *op. cit.*, 1931, vol. II, pl. XCIV, Nos. 6, 7 and 8.

these pins are surmounted by birds[10] or animals[11] and have grooves round the top to ensure that pins do not slip away from the hair. This shows the height achieved by the Harappan ivory carvers in their art.

The long gap between the end of Harappan culture (c. 1750 B.C.) and early historical period (c. 5th cent. B.C.) is reflected in ivory finds also. Ivory articles which could be assigned to this period, are almost negligible. However, finds of small ivory figurines excavated from Taxila,[12] Rupar,[13] Nagda,[14] Ujjain,[15] Prabhas Patan[16] and Avra,[17] datable to circa 6th–4th cent. B.C., are interesting. Highly conventionalised, these figures show simple incised strokes regularly marked in a horizontal and oblique series and a number of punches or 'dot in circle' motifs. When studied carefully they lead us to identify them as being anthropomorphic representation of some deity, who, in all probability is mother-goddess. These ivory finds not only show the continuation of Harappan mother–goddess cult but provide interesting parallels to similar finds in Iran[18] and Egypt.[19]

Nanavati first suggested their origin from Palestine to Mesopotamia to Iran and from there to India[20] but later advanced the theory of continuation of Harappan mother–goddess cult.[21]

Dhavalikar[22] agreed with Nanavati's later theory but has given these figures a new interpretation, that of offerings to Goddess

10. Mackay, E., *op. cit.*, pl. CX, Nos. 54-57.
11. *Ibid.*, pl. XCI, No. 27.
12. Marshall, J. *Taxila*, 1951, vol. II, p. 654, pl. 199, No. 12.
13. Sharma, Y. D., 'Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar,' *Lalit Kala*, 1-2, p. 121.
14. *I.A.R.*, 1955-56, p. 14.
15. *I.A.R.*, 1957-58, p 34.
16. Nanavati, J. M., 'Ivory figures from Prabhasa,' *Journal of the M.P. Itihasa Parishad*, No. 4 (1962), p. 51-61.
17. Trivedi, H. V., Excavations at Avra, *Jr. of M.P. Itihasa Parishad*, No. 4, (1962), p. 13-40.
18. Girshman, R., *Iran*, Harmondsworth, 1951, p. 282 and pl. 39B.
19. Petrie, F., *Objects of daily use*, London, 1927, p. 42, pl. LV, figs. 600-01.
20. Nanavati. J., *op. cit.*, p. 59.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
22. Dhavalikar, M. K. "Eye goddesses in India and their West Asian Parallel". *Anthropos*, Vol. 60, (1965), p. 533 to 540.

Shitala Devi—the goddess of small-pox. However, one thing is certain that these ivory finds show continuity of Harappan mother-goddess cult.[23]

We reach firmer grounds in the Maurya and Sunga periods as far as sources of history are concerned. Terracottas and stone sculptures of this period have been excavated in large numbers. But unfortunately the same is not true with ivory objects. The usual ivory and bone finds from these levels are arrow-heads, dice, antimony-rods, combs, handles and seals (fig. 2). However, certain finds do throw light on India's trade relations with its neighbouring countries during the centuries preceding Christian era.

Find of an Indian ivory at Pompeii, Italy,[24] shows that finished ivory products were favourite export items in 1st cent. B.C.[25] Pompeii was a city of arrival and not of transit, which means that the ivory figure must have been in the proud possession of some Pompeii nobleman who had carefully kept it in a wooden box, which in its turn was inside a wooden almirah.[26] The way it was stored shows that it was a coveted item for the Pompeii-resident. The statuette represents a female figure attended by two side figures (fig. 3). Her nudity is emphasised through the diaphanous dress. She is adorned with heavy jewellery and her parted hair is decorated with a beaded circular motif (chūḍāmaṇi). Her plaited hair (veṇī) at her back is an elaborate affair and reminds us of the similar treatment in Sanchi figures.[27] There is a circular hole drilled through the axis of the ivory, evidently intended to receive a metal pin for holding a mirror. Mirror handles fashioned from

23. Dwivedi, V. P., 'Ivories of north-West India', paper read at *Los Angeles Seminar on Indian Art*, Oct. 1970, p. 5.

24. Vogel, J. Ph., 'Note on an ivory statuette from Pompeii, *Annual bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XIII, 1938, (Leyden, 1940), p. 1.

25. Literary references show that as early as 10th cent. B. C. King Solomon received Indian ivories. That ivory export continued in 6th cent. B.C. is attested by King Darius I's inscription at Susa. Later evidence of Ist cent. A.D., is provided by '*the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*' which mentions Barygaza as exporting centre of Indian ivories.

26. Maiuri, Dr. Amede, 'Statuetta eburnea di arte Indian a Pompeii; *Le Arti*. Translation by Reasul Hasan in the *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIX, parts 1-3, (July-December 1946).

27. Marshall, J. and Foucher, A., *The monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II, pl. XXXI.

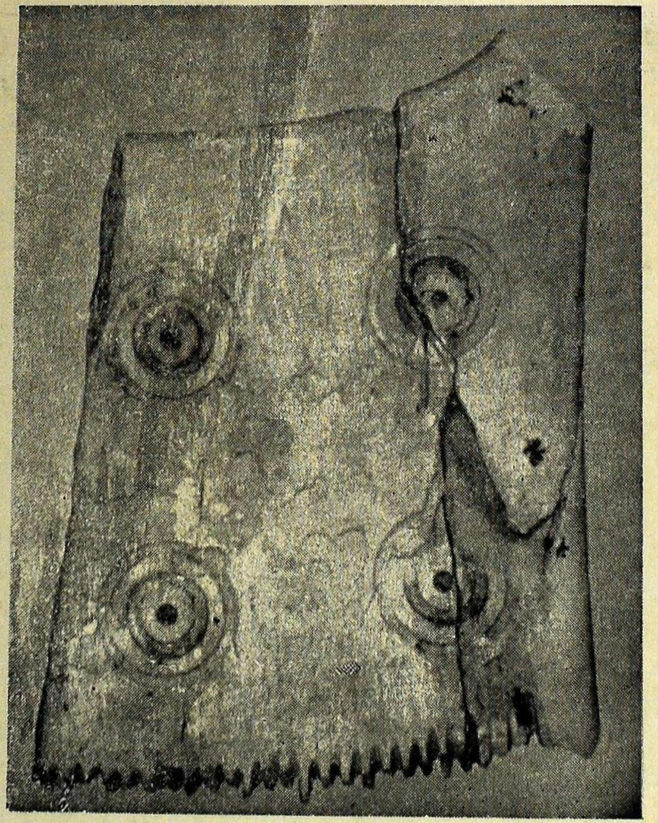


FIG. 1. Fragment of a comb. Ivory. Harappa, c. 2300-1750 B.C.

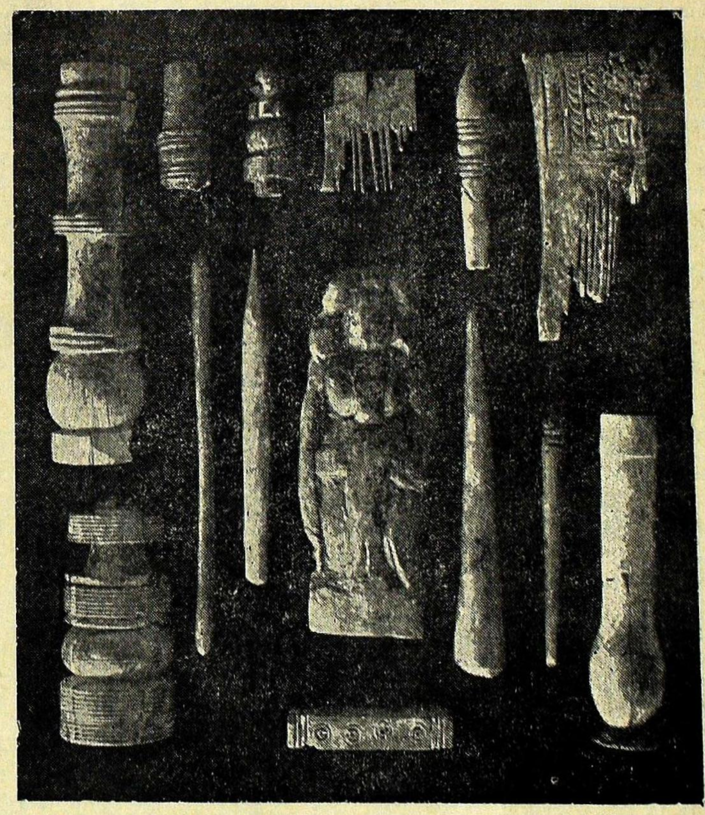


FIG. 2. Fragments of combs, dice, kohel-sticks, arrow-heads, handle and a female figure. Ivory and bone Ujjain, c. 3rd cent. B.C.—2nd cent. A.D.

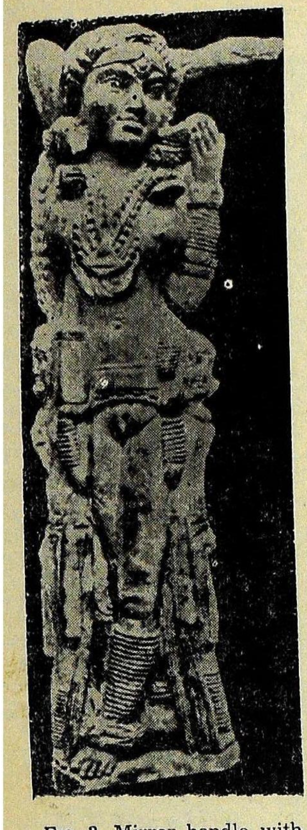


FIG. 3. Mirror handle with female figure. Ivory. Pompeli (Italy). c. 1st cent. B.C.

FIG. 4. Toilet scene. Ivory. Begram, c. 1st-2nd cent. A.D.

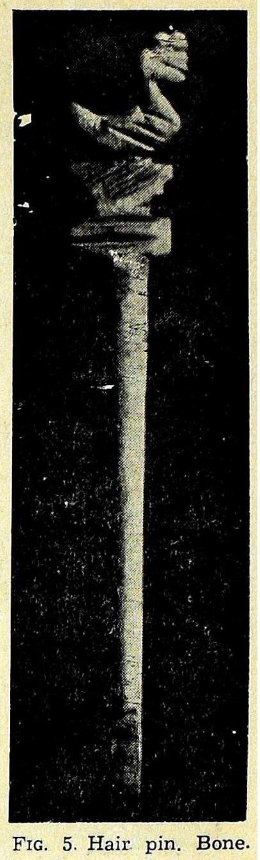


FIG. 5. Hair pin. Bone. Tascila, c. 2nd cent. A.D.

ivory seems to have been favourite toilet items. Another mirror handle of bone from Ahicchatra has recently been brought to light.[28] This, too, is carved with a female figure standing in *'tribhanga'* pose and has a hole for receiving the metal mirror pin. On stylistic grounds both these mirror handles can be placed in the 1st cent. B.C.

The find of an ivory comb from the Tripuri excavations from the layers datable to c. 200 B.C. to 100 B.C. led Dr. M. G. Dikshit[29] to believe that the Buddhist laws were not very strictly followed in that monastery site as they forbid the use of a comb for the Bhikṣus.

The discovery of a large hoard of ivories at Begram[30] (ancient Kapisa) in Afghanistan confirms the importance of trade and cultural contacts between the Indo-Afghanistan and Greco-Roman world. The excavations yielded ivory plaques from India, glass, statuettes, metal utensils and plaster moulds from the Near East, and fragments of Chinese lacquer of Han period. It is believed that the ivory plaques once embellished wooden caskets, which crumbled to dust. The plaques show scenes of leisured life. Damsels poised gracefully busy themselves with their toilet (fig. 4), play ball or musical instruments. Subtle attitudes and rounded forms, the skilled workmanship, the type of face and details of headdress and ornaments relate these pieces to Mathura. Stern has, therefore, dated them approximately from the end of the 1st to the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D.[31]

The ivories from Begram are interesting not only from the historical point of view but also for the study of various facts of Indian life in the early centuries of the Christian era. The majority of the subjects deal with various activities in the palace, restricted only to the women's quarters as suggested by an almost total

28. Agrawal, R. C., Early Indian Bone Figures in the National Museum, New Delhi, *East and West,* (N.S.), vol. 18, nos. 3-4, (Rome, 1968); pp. 311-314.

29. Dikshit, M. G., *Tripuri,* 1952, (Nagpur 1955), p. 131.

30. Hackin, J. and Hackin, M. J., *Researches Archaeologiques a Begram,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1939), and Hackin, J. and others. *Nouvelles Researches Archaeologiques a Begram, 2 vols.* (Paris, 1939).

31. Hackin, J., *Nouvelle Researches Archaeologique a Begram,* Vol. I, p. 54.

absence of male figures on these plaques.[32] The physical types are also noteworthy, the nose is short and arched and the eyes are not so elongated. The anatomical details are represented with a sense of realism devoid of, valgarity, which according to Rowland, can be termed as "gently erotic mood and provocative sensuality unmatched anywhere in the art of the world."[33] As to the place of origin of these ivories there is no consensus as yet. Either they were produced at Mathura because of their close resemblance to its art productions or made locally by imported craftsmen and material. How these different categories of art objects were found in one place is another important question. The collection either represents a royal connoisseur's prized possession or "property of an itinerant art dealer whose wares were deposited in the custody of customs at the time of the catastrophe."[34] Whatever may be the case, the fact remains that the diversity of art material of Alaxandrian, Indian and even Chinese origin found at Begram is symptomatic. It not only shows how works of art were appreciated and sought after, but also how different models were available for use by the artists of that region and its neighbourhood.

Besides Begram, many other Kushan period sites have yielded ivories and bone carvings of remarkable refinement. Excavations at Taxila brought to light many ivory items. A good number of hair pins (fig. 5) and combs were also found. Quite a few of these combs were decorated with human couples, floral scroll or birds, etc.[35] These were generally semi-circular in shape and had finely cut teeth. The most outstanding among these is an elliptical comb from Sirkap carved on both sides.[36] On one side it shows a reclining female figure in graceful posture and on the other four auspicious symbols i.e. the conch-shell, the elephant, 'Vaijayanti'

32. Auboyer, J., "Ancient Indian ivories from Begram, Afganistan", *JISOA*, Vol. XVI, (Calcutta, 1948), p. 36.

33. Rowland, Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India*, Penguine Books Ltd., 3rd Edition, 1967, p. 97.

34. Rowland, Benjamin, in *Ancient Art of Afghanistan*, (Tokyo, 1964), p. 208.

35. Marshall, J., *op. cit.*, 1951, Vol. II, p. 655-656.

36. Ghosh, A., "Taxila (Sirkap), 1944-45", *Ancient India*, No. 4, (1947-48), pp. 79-80.

and the lion. It has been assigned to 1st cent. A.D. on stylistic grounds. These finds show how the prosperous Taxilans were meticulous about their toilet requisites.

Sometimes ivory plaques corroborate popular historical episodes. Such an example is provided by Kondapur excavations,[37] which have yielded an ivory-piece showing the abduction of Vasavadatta by Udayana.[38] The scene is shown in the form of a narrative. The prince-charming carries away his darling princess to the bewilderment of the man who looks on. Then the royal couple is shown mounted on the back of the elephant. The lower band of the panel shows a four-petalled flower pattern, a motif continuing from Harappan times.

Ivory is an expensive material which can be afforded by the rich only[39] and normally one would think that Gupta period, which is known as the golden age of ancient India, must have used ivory extensively. But it is surprising to find very little ivory-carving of the Gupta period.

As against this, the later-Gupta period, which was less prosperous, has left behind a number of ivories of exquisite workmanship.[40] These ivories help us draw the following interesting conclusions: (i) that the Kashmir region was quite a productive centre of ivory-carving during the 8th cent.; (ii) however, the patronage seems to have been extended to the Buddhists only, as only the figures of the Buddha and Bodhisatvas have been found and none of any Hindu deity; (iii) we also notice that most of the Kashmir ivory figures were in the form of portable shrines which found their way out of that region to Tibet, Nepal and other adjoining areas through students of Buddhist philosophy and pilgrims who frequently visited Kashmir. Later rubbing and colouring shows that they were constantly under worship and came

37. Sreenivasachar, P., *Kandapur*, Hyderabad, pp. 8-9.

38. Moti Chandra, 'Ancient Indian Ivories, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, (Bombay), No. 6, 1957-59, p. 21.

39. Dwivedi, V. P., 'Ancient Indian Ivories—a fresh study, Paper read at the seminar on '*Material life as depicted in plastic arts upto 3rd cent. A.D.*' Organised by the Indian Archaeological Society at Nagpur, 10-12th, Nov. 1970, p. I.

40. Dwivedi, V. P., "Ivory carvings from Kashmir", paper under publication in the *Golden Jubilee Volume of the Bharat Kala Bhavan*, Varanasi.

back to India after the Tibetan debacle; (iv) Two wooden shrines encasing the ivories lead us to believe that originally all the Kashmir ivories were enshrined in portable wooden alter.

During the early medieval period (10th to 13th cent. A.D.) Orissa became an important centre of ivory carvings and specialised in the production of throne legs, quite a few of which have come to light.[41] The ivories of this period demonstrate a clear departure from the ideal of the classical age in their devotion to details at the expense of expression. Over-embellishment is at once the strength and weakness of these creations.*

41. Dwivedi, V. P., Ivories Indians, *Arts Asiatiques*, Tome XVI, (Paris. 1967), pp. 59-74.

* The author is grateful to Sri S. P. Nanda, Photographer, National Museum, N. Delhi for preparing the illustrations.

The Origin and Development of the Stupa Architecture in India

BY

SUSHILA PANT

Rhys Davids' remark that "the topes were not necessarily Buddhist monuments, but in fact, pre-Buddhist, and indeed only a slight modification of a world-wide custom"[1] of erecting a structure over the remains of the dead or at the place of cremation, is significant. The Stūpa architecture as revealed by the extant monuments might not have existed in the pre-Buddhist period but at least the custom of erecting a structure over the remains of the dead had been referred to in the Vedic and Brāhmaṇical literatures.[2] Archaeological excavations[3] have also shown that in the ancient past the tradition of constructing a structure over the remains of the dead or at the place of cremation was well observed. The Buddha himself had referred to the tradition of erecting the stupa over the remains of the kings. He said "as men treat the remains of a king or kings, so should they treat the remains of a Tathagata. A Tathāgata or Arhat Buddha is worthy of a thūpa, a pacheka Buddha is worthy of a Stupa, a true hearer of the

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* p. 80.

2. *The Mahābhārata*: Araṇyaka-parva, 2.229. mentions Yūpa-Chaitya erected at the burial spot. 'Aiduka' was another structure, *Vishnūdharmottara Purāna*: Pratimālakshaṇa; Kānd 111. Vol. 11. 34.41; 'Chaitya' was another funeral monument; *The Rāmāyaṇa*: Ayodhyā Kāndam. 3 Canto. 11.3.18; *The Mahābhārata*: XIV 10-32; *Arthaśātra*, Chapt. 111, 18, V2, XII.5; *Yājña-valkya Smṛiti*: 11.151; Śmaśāna was a common funeral ground having a structure: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 423-25.

3. Rev. Heras, S. I.. "The Megalithic tombs and the Indus Valley Civilisation" *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 15. 1952. pp. 37-39, T. V. G. Shastry, "Cultural Heritage of Nagarjunakonda", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XII No. 1. 1961-62. p. 3; D. R. Shastri, "Cult and Images of the Pitras", *JISOA*, Vol. VII, 1939. pp. 61-64.

Tathāgata is worthy of a thūpa."[4] At another place the Buddha referred to a Śārīra thūpa enshrining the bones.[5] In the Sūjātā Jātaka there is a reference to erecting a Maṭṭikā Thūpa enshrining the relics of Sūjātā's grand-father.[6] In the Bāhiya Sutta it has been alluded that the Buddha asked the monks to erect a Stūpa outside the city of Śrāvastī in honour of Bāhiya.[7] Thus, on the evidence of the Buddha himself it may be said that originally the Stūpa was conceived as a funeral mound containing the relics of the Tathāgata or a Arhat either for the sake of commemoration or for the sake of worship. This practice was very much in keeping with the past tradition of worshipping and commemorating the dead. But the significant thing about the Stūpa was that it was not simply conceived as a structure built on the remains of the dead Tathāgata; it symbolised His presence as well. As the Buddha himself said "this is the cairn of that Able Awakened One, the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death when the body has dissolved in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Tathāgata, and Able Awakened One is worth of a cairn."[8] Henceforth the Stūpa was given a new meaning and a new dimension and as Anāgarika G. Govinda has succinctly remarked that the Buddha "elevated the Stūpa "from the service of the dead to the service of the living. Its meaning does not remain centred in the particular relics, or the particular personality to whom these remains belonged but in that higher actuality which was realized by the Holy ones .... thus, the Stūpas did not become objects of hero-worship but symbols of Nibbāna or illumination."[9] But as far the Stūpa architecture is concerned the Buddhist literatures except giving some details about the stages of its construction do not throw any light upon its dimension, components, shape and embellishments. In the *Mahāvansa* there are two references about the shape of the Stūpa.

4. Rhys Davids. (tr.) *Buddhist Texts.*
5. *The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Dhātu thūpa pūjā, p. 83.
6. *Sujata Jataka*: F. N. 352.
7. B. M. Barua, *Bharhut*: Book 111, p. 9.
8. Rhys Davids. (tr.) *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol. 11, *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta*, p. 55.
9. Anāgarika B. Govinda, *Some Aspects of Stūpa Symbolism*, p. 2.

At one place it has been referred to like a 'bubble' and at another place it is compared with a 'bell'. In the Kriyāsaṁgraha Pañjikā, eighth Prakaraṇa, the kinds of Stūpa based upon the shape has been mentioned. But it is of late period and refers to the Stūpas of Nepal. According to it there are four shapes of the Stūpa- Dhānyākriti, Patrākriti, Gandākriti and Kalśākriti. For this reason the origin of the Stūpa Architecture has remained a subject matter of many speculations and reasoned conjectures.

Many Indologists and scholars have suggested different theories of the origin of the Stūpa architecture[10] and there is a general consensus among the majority of them that the Stūpa architecture in its pristine form originated from the age old custom of burial and the tradition to erect a funeral monument on the remains of the dead. Professor S. K. Saraswati seems nearer to the truth when he suggests that "the most probable view seems to be that this hemispherical structure emerged out of the earthen funeral mounds (Śmaśāna), under which according to Vedic rituals, the ashes of the dead were buried."[11] Since the time of Aśoka simultaneous tradition of constructing Stupas over the relics as well as without the relics continued to prevail in the country. The

10. F. B. Havell considers it 'Aryan royal tomb' derived from the Aryan chieftain's hut: *A Handbook of Indian Art*, pp. 4-5; V. A. Smith also accepts it as a funeral mound, *The Jaina Stūpa and otehr Antiquities of Mathurā* pp 12-14; A. Foucher maintains it as 'ancient form of tumulus': *L'art Graceo-Buddhique;* John Marshall also accepts it a 'Funeral mound': *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 30; Henry Cousin feels that the Stūpa originated from the funeral tumulus': *The Architectural Antiquity of Western India*, p. 8; B. M. Barua also supports this theory, *Bhārhut*, Vol. III, p. 18; A. H. Longhurst also subscribes to this view: *The Story of the Stūpa;* T. M. Ramachandran believes in the funeral origin of the Stūpa: *Nāgarjunakonda;* Stella Kramrisch is of opinion that the Stūpa architecture is the resultant of the combination of 'Vedic altar' and 'Cairn' of the ancient time", *The Art of India Through the Ages*, p. 16; O. C. Ganguly opines that the Stūpa originated from the tomb: *Indian Architecture*, pp. 6-7; A. C. Banerjee says that 'it is quite possible that the round form of Āsura burial mound ultimately gave birth to round Stūpa....', *JBORS*, Vol. XXI, Part 11, 1934, p. 182; Hermann Goetz and Madam Benisti both believe that the Stūpa developed from the funeral mound, *Art of the World Series: India; Ētude Sur Le Stūpa Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, Vol. L. Part 1, 1960, etc., etc.

11. S. K. Saraswati, *The Age of Imperial Unity*: (The History and Culture of the Indian People), Vol. II, p. 488.

archaeological evidences[12] and the extant monuments[13] along with the literary references show that the Stūpa building activities were not confined only to the erection of the Stūpas over the remains of the Tathāgata and His Disciples but they used to be constructed for preserving the belongings of the Tathāgata or His Disciples or at a holy spot or for the sake of commemoration or for the sake of getting salvation. Even in the pre–Buddhist society the Jainas used to erect the Stūpas on the holy spots or to commemorate a place visited by the Tīrthankaras. Thus, to accept the theory that the Stūpa originated from the tumulus and is, therefore, a relic chamber does not seem to provide an answer to the origin of the non–relic Stūpas. Moreover, this also does not enlighten us on the origin of the architecture of the Stupa. The origin of the non–relic Stūpas is to be traced from some other source. It is most probable that the non–relic Stūpas might have originated from the socio–cultural and political needs of the time. It might have an imitative origin as well.

Since the time of Aśoka, Buddhism became the state religion. But there were other religions which were competing with it. It is quite probable that the royalties in order to banish older forms of religions had introduced the Stūpas as means of worship.[14] It is also possible that in the hands of the Kings Stūpa gradually became the means for seeking submission and obedience to the royal authority. As it was not possible to acquire so many relics of the Tathāgata or His Disciples over which stupas could be built, and as the Stūpas were to be used as a magic–mystic instrument both for the sake of personal salvation as well as for the welfare of the State—the macrocosm and a living organism—Stūpa building activities were to be expanded beyond its original character.

12. Sānchi Stūpa No. 1 did not contain any relics: A. Cunningham, *Bhilsā Topes*, pp. 300 and 305. But J. Fergusson gave the dimension of the relic-box found therein which suggests that it had the relics, *Tree and Serpent worship*, p. 96. The Stūpa at Bhaṭṭīprolu, did not contain relics. The Stūpas at Bhājā, Ellōrā also did not contain the relics. Kankāli Tilā Stūpa also did not contain any relics, V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 4.

13. Henry Cousen, *The Architectural Antiquity of Western India*; Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, pp. 41-90.

14. This might be probable as at some places Gāndharvas, Yākshas were worshipped.

Probably this had led to the origin and development of the non-relic Stūpas. Hermann Goetz also seems inclined towards this view.[15]

It may also be pointed out that the ecological, economic, social, religious and cultural forces contributed substantially in the development of the Stūpa architecture. In general it could be said that the Stūpas are either the folk-variants or the results of the influence of the royalty or social aristocracies, or the resultants of the Buddhist philosophy, or the expression to the sects and sub-sects of Buddhism, or the out-come of the synthesis of the Hindu, Buddhist and Hellenic architectural traditions or the effects of the reassertion of the Brāhmaṇical tradition or the off-shoot of the Bhaktī-cult or in a few cases the cumulative result of some of these factors.

The Stūpas at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Amrāvatī, to a great extent, are the results of the will of the royalty and of the social aristocracy.[16] The Stūpa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa is the expression to the then existing sects and sub-sects of Buddhism.[17] The Péshāwar Stūpa and the Stūpas in Gāndhara are the specimens of the combination of the Hellenistic tradition with the Indian.[18] Stūpas of the West Coast with the images of the Buddha are partly the out-come of the influence of the Brāhmaṇical tradition and the Bhaktī cult and largely of the Mahāyana philosophy.[19] The Stūpa at Sārnāth seems to be partly the product of the work of the royalty, partly due to the effects of the Buddhist philosophy and partly due to the revivalism of the past tradition.[20]

Further, the Stūpa architecture seems to have developed along with the over-all prosperity. The massiveness of the architectures and the embellishments on the late Stūpas seem to be closely

15. Hermann Goetz, *India*, p. 43.

16. J. Marshall, *Guide to Sāñchi;* B. M. Barua, *Bhārhut;* J. Burgess, *Notes on Amrāvatī Stūpa.*

17. R. C. Rao, *The Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1938, Nos. 54 and 55.

18. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 83; H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture*, p. 63.

19. J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples of India.*

20. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* 1861-62; D. R. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist ruins of Śārnāth.*

connected with the economic prosperity of the people. The Stūpas which were constructed over a long span of time and where the element of donation was large both their architectures and embellishments show greater complexity and dexterity. The Toraṇas of Sāñchi and Bhārhut, the railings of Bhārhut and Amrāvatī, the Aryaka platforms and the Aryaka pillars of Amrāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,[21] the elongation of the domes of the Ellorā and Ajantā Stūpas[22] the embellishments on them — all suggest that during these days the economic prosperity was at its peak. Rich traders, merchants and aristocrats used to compete among themselves for donations. As during the latter part of the 3rd century A.D. donations towards the construction of the various components of the Stūpa architecture had become a convenient means to attain salvation, rich people contributed a lot towards the development of the Stūpa architecture. This could be ascertained from the additions to the Stūpas during the Guptā period when the economic prosperity was undisputed.[23]

Thus it might be that both the structural and the rock–cut Stūpas seem to have developed out of the then prevalent practice of erecting a funeral monument and under the various socio–economic, politico–religious and ecological compulsions. But the Stūpa architecture in its different ramifications does not seem to be conceived of as 'one piece structure.' Archaeological evidences, epigraphical and numismatic records also, to some extent, confirm it. As such, to accept that the Stūpa has been derived from any one structure of the ancient past seems not only utopian but also fallacious. The Stūpa architecture has its growth. It is evolutionary and assimilative in character. Buddhism, it seems, only helped in the continuous process of assimilation, adaptation and evolution of the earlier structural tradition leading finally to the Stūpa architecture. The Stūpa from the mud and wooden structure containing the relics gradually developed into a brick and stone structure of moderate height with a hemispherical dome and circular base followed by further elongation of each of the com–

21. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1938, Nos. 54 and 55; *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. 1.

22. K. R. Srinivasan, *Rock-cut Monuments, later Buddhist Caves.*

23. Unpublished thesis of the writer, "Origin and Development of Stūpa Architecture from the earliest times to c. 700 A.D."

ponents of the structure on a square or rectangular base. From the point of embellishment also the Stupa embellishments show an evolution from plain structure to highly ornamented, from the uniconic to iconic tradition. The later Stūpas seem to be more developed, more refined and more sophisticated from both the architectural and decorative point of views. This evolutionary nature of the Stūpa architecture further gets support from the varied architectural patterns of the Stūpa found in the countries of South and South East Asia. If one analyses the different components of the Stūpa architecture and looks into the ancient texts one will find that almost all the components of the Stūpa architecture were in existence in the pre–Buddhist period and were used in more or less for the same purposes. In the Mānsāra one gets the references to the Aṇda or Garbha referring to the repository of idol. Therein also one gets the reference to Tóraṇas, Vedikās, Chaṭṭra, Sópāna, Pradikshaṇāpath, Médhī and Harmíkā. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana also one finds these references. In civil and palace architectures these were the components and have been mentioned in the ancient treatises on architecture. In relation to the temple architecture also many of the elements of the Stūpa architecture are common and had existed prior to the origin of the Stūpa architecture. The Stūpa architecture has assimilated many of the architectural components from the secular, civil, Brāhmaṇical and religious structures of the ancient past. This would become clear from the references in the ancient Indian texts, like the Upanishad,[24] Mānsāra, Purānas etc.[25]

In the Chāndogya Upanishad 'Āmalaka' is called the Āṇda.[26] In the Copper Plate Inscription the word 'Trígarbha' occurs.[27] In the Mānsāra Dhātu–garbha has been mentioned.[28] This word has been frequently used for denoting the sanctum where the idol is kept in a temple. If the Stūpa hemispherical dome has been called the Āṇda or the Garbha it is only the acceptance and reproduction of the temple architecture. Similarly, the railings

24. *The Chāndogya Upanishad.*
25. *Matsya Purāna.*
26. *Chāndogya Upanishad,* Chap. III, p. 107.
27. Sohgaura Copper Plate Inscription: *The Brihat Saṁhitā,* LXI, 12, F.R.A.S.. Vol. VI, p. 318.
28. *Mānsāra,* p. 240.

have been erected to protect the place from danger. The tradition of Chāitya within railings or tree within railings is very old.[29] The gateways at the four cardinal points "corresponding to the four seasons"[30] is nothing but the acceptance of the Brāhmaṇical tradition. The Matsya Purāna mentions that the pavilion should have four faces and be furnished with four gateways.[31] In ancient India there had been a long tradition of erecting the Victory gateways.[32] The gateways of Sāñchi and Bhārhut might be but imitation and adaptation of these civil tradition in architecture. In the sameway the sópāna of the Stūpa owed its origin to the palace and secular architectures of moderate or great height. The existence of the Pradikshaṇāpath also is the imitation and acceptance of the Brāhmaṇical tradition. The Pārasar Grihya Sūtra mentions the circumambulation of the sacrificial fire.[33] In the Nārada Purāna it has been mentioned in connection with Yūpa.[34] Stella Kramrisch believes that the Āryaka Platforms and Pillars seem to have originated from the Central India tradition of building the Āyaga-patta and pillars as objects of reverence. She further suggests that the Āryaka Platforms may be considered as the reproduction of ancient open-air altars and the Āryaka Pillars might be the Buddhist adaptation of the ancient Yūpas erected at a sacred place.[35]

To sum up, it was be said that the Stūpa architecture seems to have developed through successive stages in which primitive, tribal, Brahmanical, megalithic, Jaina, folk traditions, regional influences, civil, secular and religious architectures all have played their role at some stage of its development. It is a type as well as a class in itself.

29. *Mānsāra*, Pl. IX, p. 364; Kautilya, *The Arthasāstra*, Chapter II, Slokas: 26-27, p. 91; *Bhagwatī Sūtra*, 20.9.su. 684 and 794.
30. Grundwell, *A Handbook of Indian Art*, p. 54; *The Rāmāyaṇa*, V,3,33; *Vāyu Purāna*, Part 1, XXXIX, VV. 36,51,60.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. In the *Grihya Sūtra*, the idea of circumambulation of a holy place is given; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIX, Chapt. IV, Kāndika, 2, *Āsvalayana Gṛihya Sūtra*, p. 238.
34. *Narada Purāṇa*, 14-68-69.
35. Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India through the Ages*, p. 19.

Epigraphical Evidence for the Chronology of Ajanta

BY

SOBHNA GOKHALE

The chronology of the Mahāyana monuments at Ajanta is a complex problem. Very little is known about the royal patrons who are responsible for the flowering of this phase at Ajanta. Except the Vākāṭaka King Hariṣena and his feudatory one Ṛṣika ruler, whose name is not known, nothing is known about the architectural activities of other Vākāṭaka rulers. However, scholars have tried to determine the chronology of the caves of Mahāyāna group with the help of plans, figure sculptures, ornate pillars, picture galleries and inscriptions. Unfortunately, at Ajanta not a single inscription is dated either in regnal or in any specific era. The inscription[1] in cave number XVI, however, contains genealogies of the Vākāṭaka house of the Vatsagulma branch and its minister Varahadeva. The inscription[2] in cave number XVII records the excavation of a gem like monolithic maṇḍapa, and 'Gandhakuṭi.' (Cave number XIX). Cave number XXVI[3] records the excavation of a rock-hewn temple. Therefore, in the sequence of development of the Mahāyana phase at Ajanta there are two important factors:

(1) To fix the date of Hariṣena;

(2) To determine the period of the termination of architectural activities at Ajanta.

The inscriptions in cave number XVI, XVII and in the Ghaṭotkacha cave, though they record genealogies of King Hariṣena, are mutilated and have no trace of any date. Mirashi with the help of the Poona plates[4] of Prabhāvatigupta where the genealogy of the imperial Guptas is recorded and the dates of the Uchchakalpa

1. *CII*, V, p. 103.
2. *CII*, V, p. 120.
3. Yazdani *Ajanta*, Vol. IV, p. 112.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41.

King Jayanātha[5] determined the chronology of the two houses of the Vākāṭakas. He supported his theory with Puranic evidence and the regnal dates of the Vākāṭaka copper-plates. Mirashi assigned the reign of Hariṣena from 475 A.D. to 500 A.D. whereas Mujumdar extended the rule of Hariṣena upto 510 A.D. Recently Walter Spink on the basis of evidence derived from the study of Buddhist and Hindu monuments arrived at the conclusion that "The Mahāyāna phase at Ajanta was one of remarkably intense patronage and swift development" and further he has associated the great phase of patronage with Hariṣena's reign. Consequently he assigned the reign of Hariṣena from 460 to 490 A.D.

The Hisse-Borala[6] inscription of Devasena which is dated in Ś 380 affords some precise data for chronology. It records that King Devasena, the father of Hariṣena constructed a lake named Sudarsana in Śaka 380 (458 A.D.). This is the only evidence which shows Devasena's interest in a public work but nothing is known about his role in the architectural activities at Ajanta. Spink has ended the reign of Devasena by 480 A.D. There is no palaeographically sound reasaon to terminate the political life of Devasena just two years after the available date and hence in the present state of knowledge the dates of Devasena and Hariṣeṇa given by Mirashi should be accepted. (450 A.D. to 475 A.D. and 475 A.D. to 500 A.D.).

There is no palaeographically sound evidence to fix the initial date of Hariṣeṇa's reign but the terminal point of the end of Hariṣeṇa's reign may be fixed with the help of new copper-plates of Madhyamasena.[6a] In the inscription in cave[7] number XVI Hariṣena is credited with a victory over Trikuṭa but so far the name of the King whom Hariṣeṇa defeated was not known. The Kanheri plates[8] of the Traikuṭakas which are dated in the Kalachuri era (245 K) (495 A.D.) record the construction of a Chaitya. The inscription does not mention the name of the king but with the discovery of these Traikuṭaka plates very interesting information has come to light. The copper plates record the name of the king

5. *CII*, III, p. 117.
6. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXVII, p. 1.
6a. Paper submitted to the All India Oriental Conference 1971.
7. *CII*, V, p. 103.
8. *CII*, IV, Part I, p. 31.

as Madhyamasena who was so far not known in history. They are dated in K. 256 (A.D. 506) and were issued eleven years after the Kanheri plates. A logical synchronism may be established in all these events. The absence of the name of the ruling king in the Kanheri plates suggests political disturbance. The Traikuṭaka king who received a blow at the hands of Hariṣena might be Madhyamasena who was the successor of Vyāghrasena. The post-dated inscription definitely suggests that the power of Madhyamasena was temporarily eclipsed by Hariṣena but was restored by 506 A.D. This synchronism ultimately indicates the end of the rule of Hariṣena by 500 A.D. and in no case it should be extended to the first decade of sixth century A.D.

For the determination of chronology there are other factors to be taken into consideration. The Vākāṭaka region was really the middle geographical zone of the country and Ajanta lies on the ancient trade route from Ujjayini to Pratiṣṭhāna; therefore, traditions from all directions reached this region. Ajanta was a cultural centre and hence one would find there an admixture of various influences. So far as the palaeography is concerned there is equal weight of northern, southern and western traditions. Therefore, the influence of the western variety of southern script could be observed in the inscriptions of Ajanta. The box-headed variety of Brāhmī which developed in the Vākāṭaka court previously existed in eastern Malwa. Therefore, it existed in the Eran inscription[9] of Samudragupta and Udayagiri inscription[10] of Chandragupta II. The box-headed variety is a beautiful mixture of two traditions. Dr Dani has pointed out that the southern influence had penetrated along with the Sātavāhana advance in the North and in the 4th Century A.D. this writing received a new character by the addition of a square on the top of the letter. Wherever the influence of the Vākāṭakas, their writing had its effect. We notice its influence in the inscriptions of the Gurjaras,[11] Sharabhapura[12] kings. The influence may be observed in the Bilsad[13] inscription of Kumāragupta I. It marched towards east

9. *CII*, III, p. 20.
10. *CII*, III, p. 25.
11. *Ep. Ind.* VI, p. 14, 46.
12. *CII*, III, p. 191.
13. *CII*, III, p. 43.

and south and shows its elements in the Yekkari[14] inscription of Pulakeśi II and in the inscriptions of the Gangas of Kalinga.[15] It continued in the Vākāṭaka dominion even after the fall of the Vākāṭaka empire is proved by the Nagardhan plates[16] of Svāmirāja dated in K. 322 (522 A.D.). The whole discussion shows that the palaeographical chronometer may be successfully employed for the purpose of chronology but then the results derived from such indications should be considered as approximate and not precise. With the help of treatment of cells, layout of the shrines Spink places cave number XVII slightly later than cave number XVI. This sort of chronological precision is not possible if one has to confine to palaeography alone. The inscription[17] in cave number XX shows the circle type of medial 'i', the Deccani type of 'ta' with a loop at the left side, (ka) has the usual curved vertical, 'ya' is tripartite and, therefore, on palaeographical ground, the inscription may be assigned to a period ranging from A.D. 450 to A.D. 525. The other three inscriptions[18] in cave number XXVI may be assigned to the same period.

So far as the painted inscriptions are concerned, there are no similar painted dated inscriptions for comparison and therefore the painted letters are to be compared either with the letters of copper-plates or with those of rock-cut inscriptions. Moreover, it would not be a fair comparison as the painters of Ajanta could move their brushes freely and had sufficient scope for individual mannerism Inspite of this freedom a careful study of painted inscriptions at Ajanta shows that the painters at Ajanta remained faithful to the tradition. This has been clearly indicated by the painted Sātavahana inscription[19] in cave number X. Cave number XXVI contains two painted inscriptions.[20] Both of them show knobs on the top of the letter though they maintain the general characteristics of the script. Addition of knobs on the heads of the letters is definitely a Kalachuri style. The painted inscriptions[21] in cave

14. *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 8.
15. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 361.
16. *CII*, IV, Part II, p. 611.
17. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, IV, p. 112.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Burgess, *J. Arch. Surv. Western India*, Vol. IV, LIX 1.
20. *Ibid.*, No. 13, 14.
21. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 259.

number IV and cave[22] number XXII have been also assigned to the first half of the sixth century A.D. by Sircar and Dhavalikar.

Even a statistical analysis of the letters in the Ajanta inscriptions indicate that the pendulum of the palaeographic chronometer does not move beyond 525 A.D. This shows that the Vākaṭaka architectural activities came to an end shortly after Hariṣena's reign. As suggested by Mirashi from the historical data in Dandin's *Daśakumaracarita* the Vākāṭaka power passed into the hands of a weak successor. The temporary Kalachuri phase ended by 525 A.D. as they diverted their attention on the western coast. But the Raṣṭrakuṭa inscription in cave number XXVI definitely shows that the architectural activities continued even upto 8th and 9th centuries.

22. *ARS Orientalis*, Vol. VII, p. 147-153, 1968.

Elephant in Indian Art

BY

B. CH. CHHABRA

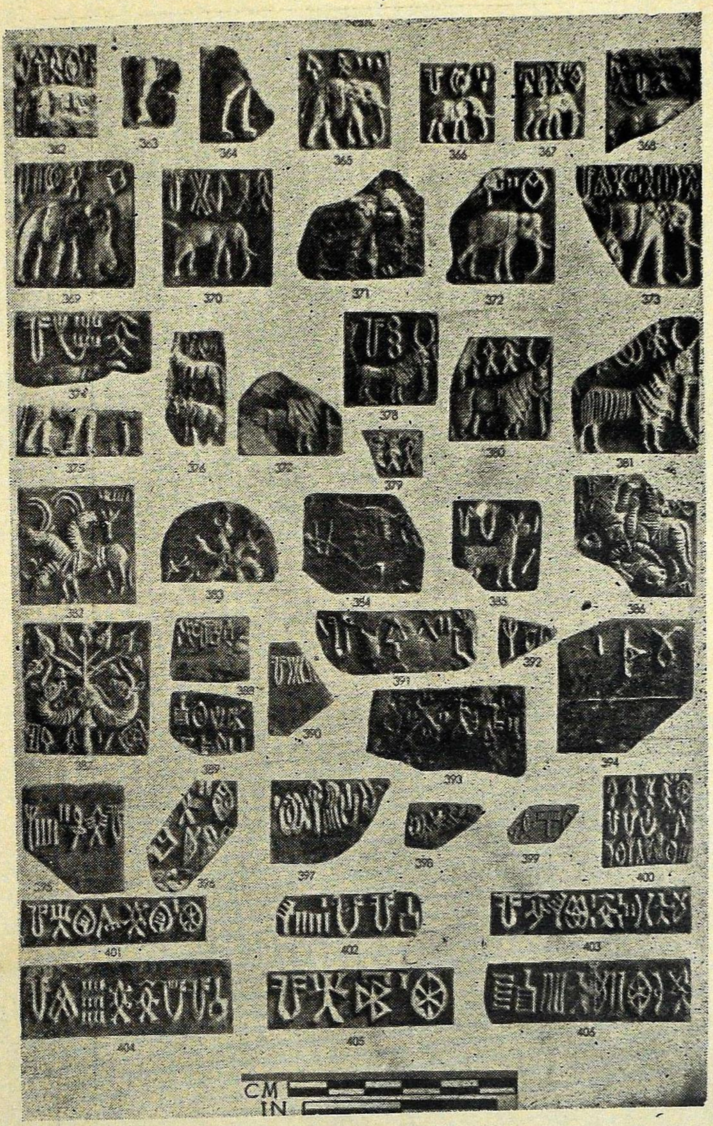
Elephant is an emblem of India *par excellence.* It stands for such sterling qualities as sagacity, strength, courage, fortitude, gentleness, devotion, love and the like. Its popularity is evident everywhere. About 20 years ago, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department issued a series of special stamps, illustrating some of the outstanding archaeological relics of India, monuments, sculptures, paintings and the like. And, if you remember, the very first of that series, the three-pies stamp, the stamp of the lowest denomination, represents an elephant. It depicts a young elephant, disporting itself in a lake, tossing lilies and lotuses, and munching stems and stalks, after one of the famous fresco paintings of Ajanta. A lonely creature, but obviously happy, content and care-free! Its appearance on a postal stamp of the lowest denomination signifies its high renown and wide popularity. It may be added that later on the same department issued a series of stamps depicting the fauna of India and that there again the elephant figures prominently, the 30 paise stamp having the figure of a majestic elephant. Besides, the current 8 paise stamp has one of the two sculptured elephants of Konarak illustrated on it.

Elephant has lived in our midst from time immemorial. And, in course of time, for its fine qualities, our forefathers raised it to godhead. As such it continues enjoying our adoration under the significant appellations: Gaṇeśa, Gaṇapati, Vināyaka, Vighneśvara, Gajānana and so forth. It is the Elephant-headed God of Good Luck. Every pious Hindu pays homage to Lord Gaṇeśa and invokes his blessings before starting his day's work or a new venture. He is the remover of all impediments and obstacles, and the grantor of success and prosperity. It is remarkable that the modern scientists have given credence to this sentiment; for in their language the elephant is called *Elephas Ganesa* and its remote predecessor *Stegodon Ganesa.*

We may bypass the geological and zoological aspects of our elephant. We are not so much concerned with him as an animal as with his description in literature and depiction in art. Nor do we propose to deal with him in the context of Preservation of Wild Life however important this aspect may be in itself. Those interested in schemes of National Parks, Preservation of Wild Life, and the like, will find very informative and useful data in such old literary works as the *Mānasollāsa* of the Chālukya King Someśvara, which is a veritable encyclopaedia.

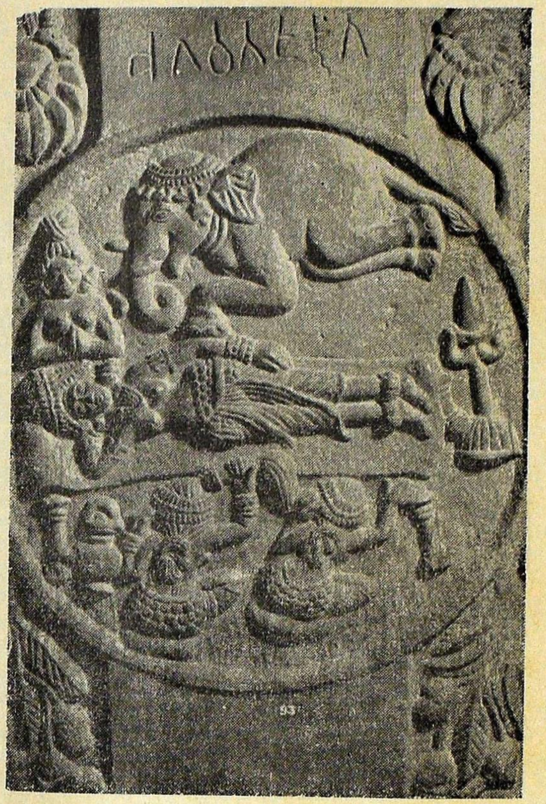
Concerning Gaṇeśa or Gajānana, the Elephant-faced God of Good Luck, the Hindu mythology has numerous interpretations of his birth and exploits. We need not go into details thereof either. It is well known that every village in India has some images of this god, with his characteristic elephant-head, belonging to all periods of plastic art in India. And there are festivals when effigies of this god are made in clay in great numbers, painted in gaudy colours, and sold in the bazaars. In certain parts, these are later on ceremoniously immersed in waters of holy tanks or rivers.

The history of Indian art starts from the Harappa Culture or the Indus Valley Civilization, which dates back roughly from 3000 years B.C. Among the hundreds of stone seals and amulets recovered from the Harappan sites there are a good few that have a figure of an elephant engraved on them. Those with the figure of a bull engraved on them are by far the most numerous. Those engraved with an elephant come next in number; the remaining ones showing figures of several other animals, including the tiger. The archaeologists believe that these animals were regarded as objects of worship, gods and demi-gods, by the people to whom the seals and amulets belonged. Commenting on them, Sir John Marshall says with reference to the elephant: "In Aryan India, however, the elephant appears as Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra, but it is as Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati—the God of Wisdom and Enterprise and the Embodiment of Good Luck—that he is most widely worshipped." This is what Sir John observes. It may, however, be pointed out that the representations on the seals show the animal in natural form, and not as Gaṇeśa or Airāvata. The trappings and rugs on most of these figures indicate that in India man had already, in that early period, domesticated the elephant. It may further be added that the Harappan antiquities so far discovered

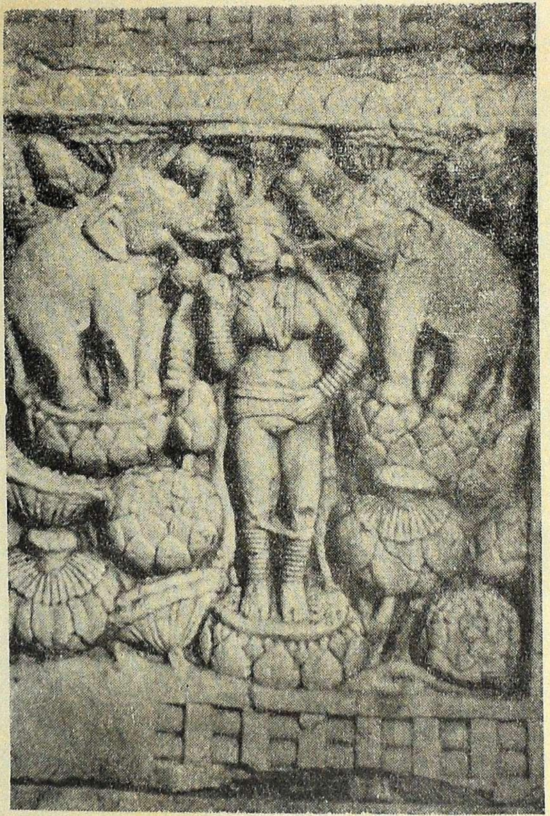


Harappan seals from Mohenjodaro—Nos. 362-381. Period ± 2500 B.C.

Dhauli: Unfinished sculpture of elephant; rock bearing Aśoka's inscriptions; Maurya period 300 B.C.

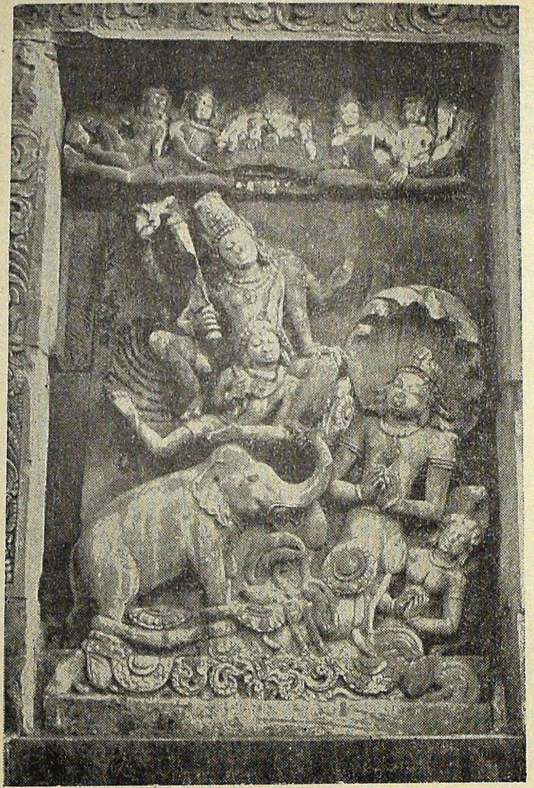


Bharhut: Śuṅga period 200 B.C. Dream of Queen Māyā; white elephant descending from heaven into Māyā's womb-conception of the Buddha

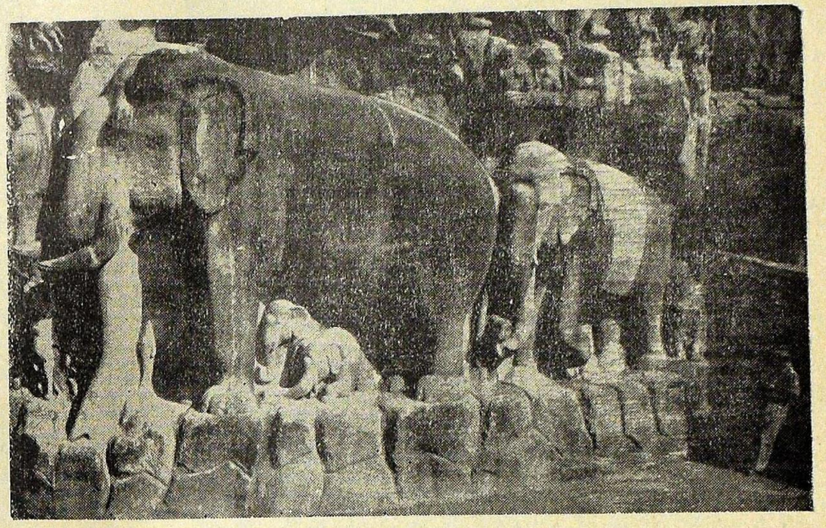


Sanchi: Māyā or Gajalakshmī, on a stone panel in the stone railing of the Buddhist stūpa. Kushāṇa period A.D. 200

Sanchi: Gajalakshmī, a stone panel, Buddhist stūpa No. II. Kushāṇa period A.D. 300



Deogarh: Gupta period A.D. 400 sculptured panel at the Daśāvatāra temple, depicting the Gajendra-moksha or release of the Elephant Lord myth.



Mahabalipuram: On a rock depicting Arjuna's penance; grove with a herd of wild elephants. Pallava period A.D. 700

include quite a few ivory objects, too. Moreover, a partly preserved skeleton of an elephant and a large fragment of a tusk also are found among them. Among the more artistic objects are "a well-executed copper statuette of an elephant.....cast in the round," and a copper tablet with an outline drawing of a composite animal, half bull and half elephant. Chanhudaro, one of the Harappan sites, has yielded a terracotta toy elephant. All these bits of evidence go to prove that the people in that remote age were familiar with the elephant and had it tamed for their use.

Scholars have not yet agreed as to the age of the *Vedas* and their relation with the Harappan Culture; though references in the *Ṛigveda* such as the mention of Hariyūpīyā, possibly to be identified with the ancient city of Harappa, may make them more or less contemporaneous with the Harappan Culture. In any case, the authors of the *Vedas* knew the elephant and saw in the rain clouds the flying elephant, Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra—Indra, the God of Rain and of the Sky. This must have been symbolical; but in the Hindu mythology and iconography, Airāvata actually assumes the form of a stately elephant. There are artistic illustrations of Indra riding his elephant *vāhana* (vehicle).

It is significant that the term used for elephant in the *Vedas* is *hastimṛga* which literally means a beast with a limb functioning as a hand, that is its trunk. Possibly they were coining a word for the elephant. Later on the adjective *hasti* became the substantive, denoting 'elephant.' Another similar term is *hastināga*, where *nāga* denotes 'serpent.' The original name of Hastināpura, capital of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, is *Hastināgapura* as found in certain Buddhist texs. Clouds, serpents and elephants got so mingled in early Aryan literature that they are often denoted by identical terms.

After the Harappan period there is a big gap in history, extending over a thousand years. The people, however, must have been busy during this time perfecting the technique of capturing and taming wild elephants. Glimpses of this are found in the two epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. In the description of the city of Ayodhyā in Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, names of certain types of elephants are mentioned. This shows that by that time a regular *śāstra* or lore, later on known as *Gajaśāstra*, had been evolved and

studied. Those very terms, *bhadra*, *mandra* and *mṛga*, denoting three different basic types of elephants, are found mentioned in later treatises on elephant lore, some of which have survived and are known to the scholarly world.

As to the depiction of elephant in art, relating to the period between the Harappan age and the so-called historic time in India, beginning, say, with the invasion of Alexander the Great, we have some early punch-marked coins and certain types of seals, with an effigy of the elephant on them. In the British Museum at London, there is a remarkable silver medal, said to belong to the time of Alexander the Great. On one side of it is represented the Indian king, Puru, Porus of the Greek historians, riding his stately elephant and piercing with a back stroke of his lance a horse-rider intent upon chasing him. According to Greek historians, Porus was defeated and captured by Alexander.

It is also known that, after the Porus episode, Alexander met with some reverses and could not proceed further on his victorious march. Later on, we know, one of his generals, Seleucus Nicator by name, who was ruling over the region round Takshaśilā, modern Taxila, came into conflict with Chandragupta the Maurya. The conflict ended in a matrimonial alliance, and Seleucus Nicator returned to his homeland with a present of some war elephants from Chandragupta.

India was the first to employ the elephant in warfare. It is from the Indians that the Persians learnt this science and passed it on to the Greeks. The Indian army consisted of four divisions: elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. On account of this the army was called *chaturaṅgiṇī senā*, meaning 'an army consisting of four divisions.' Incidentally, this gave rise to the game of Chess, called in India on that account *Chaturaṅga*, now popularly known as Shatranj. The heavy artillery of the modern warfare has replaced the elephant of olden days.

There exist quite a few Sanskrit works on elephant lore. It is apparent from them that the main purpose of capturing and training elephants was to use them in warfare. In the process, elephant became a symbol of royalty and as such was often used on festive occasions with much pomp and show. His use in temple processions is perhaps of a comparatively late origin.

The following are some of the important works on elephant lore: *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya; *Mataṅgalīlā* of Nilakantha; *Gajaparīkshā; Gajachikitsā;* and the one already mentioned, namely *Mānasollāsa* of Somadeva. We need not get into the details of their contents. It may, however, be pointed out that they contain hundreds of terms and expressions that are peculiar to elephant lore and are not listed in the existing Sanskrit dictionaries. They have survived in their distorted forms in the present day lingo of the *mahauts* or elephant–drivers. The term *mahaut* is a contraction of the original Sanskrit *mahāmātra*. These *mahāmātras* in ancient times constituted an important class of functionaries in royal courts. The trapping and the training of elephants were also under their charge.

For our purpose, technical works on elephant lore or stray references to it are not so important as the mythological legends that were gathering round the elephant during each successive period of history. And herein all the three main religions of ancient India, namely Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism, vied with one—another in bringing the elephant into the forefront. The monuments erected by Aśoka and those raised in his wake display the impetus the depiction of elephant in plastic art received in ever increasing measure. The Brahmanical myths, involving elephants, like those of Gajendramoksha and Gajāsuravadha, found artistic expression in the Gupta and post–Gupta period—the so–called Golden Age of Indian history. The royal patrons of art that follow, expecially in the south and in the east, made worthy additions to the rich heritage of sculptural wealth. The role of elephant herein continues unabated.

From the accompanying illustrations it will be clear that apart from the sculptures, elephant was a favourite theme even in the wall paintings, and even in the miniature paintings of later periods and schools such as Mughal paintings, Rajasthānī paintings and Kangra paintings.

The following are some of the important works on elephant lore: Hastyāyurveda of Pālakāpya, Mātaṅgalīlā of Nīlakaṇṭha, Gajaśāstra, Gajaśikṣā and the [illegible] namely Mānasollāsa of Someśvara. [illegible] of their contents. It may, however, be pointed out that they contain hundreds of terms and expressions that are peculiar to elephant lore and are not found in the existing [illegible]. They have survived in their distorted [illegible] lore of the [illegible]. [illegible] contribution to the available Sanskrit lexicography. [illegible] in ancient India constituted an important class of [illegible] royal [illegible]. The training and the rearing of elephants [illegible] great importance.

For our purposes a detailed study on elephant lore [illegible] is not so important as the [illegible] that have [illegible] round the elephant during various [illegible] period of history. [illegible] at the three main religions of ancient India, namely Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism [illegible] one another [illegible] the elephant and the [illegible]. The monuments erected by [illegible] and those [illegible] the depiction of elephant in plastic art [illegible] measure. The [illegible] temples [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] expression in the [illegible] and post-Gupta period [illegible] Golden Age of Indian history. The [illegible] patrons [illegible] south and [illegible] east [illegible] monuments to the [illegible] sculptural wealth. The [illegible] of elephant [illegible] continues [illegible].

In the accompanying illustrations will [illegible] the sculptures elephant [illegible] in the wall paintings and also in the miniature paintings of [illegible] and [illegible] such as Mughal paintings, Rajasthani paintings and Deccan paintings.

Relations of The Bombay Government with the Courts of Poona and Satara 1720-1742 *

BY

ANTHONY D'COSTA

Introduction

It is proposed here to deal with the relations of the English with the Central Maratha authorities in the years 1720–1742, because of the peculiar interest attaching to this period. For it saw the rise of the Peshwā to the position of real and hereditary head of the Maratha State, while the Chatrapati at Satara was reduced to the position of a nominal sovereign. The period also saw the Maratha State transformed from a kingdom into a confederacy, along the lines envisaged by Bāḷājī Viśvanāth. Both these changes are reflected in the Anglo–Maratha relations of these years.

The English on their side, we find, were largely commercial in outlook. They were prepared to maintain only such establishments as could be financed out of the profits of the trade of the place. But at the same time, once they had secured permission from an Indian ruler to set up a trading establishment in a profitable place, they regarded it as a point of national honour not to allow themselves to be deprived of it. In addition, the Company's servants were inspired by the idea that they were engaged in a national enterprise. Thus the English, though they were here as merchants were not lacking in political outlook.

The Bombay Government did not have many dealings with the central Maratha power till 1737, when the forces of Bājīrāo I occupied Salsette Island. But after that there was frequent contact, and though there were friendly diplomatic exchanges between the two, relations were on the whole uneasy. The British began to acquire that knowledge of the internal conditions in the Maratha State, of which they would make full use when as a result of Plassey and Buxar their resources would be increased,

*This paper was presented at the Maratha History Seminar held at Deccan College, Poona, in 1969.

their political outlook intensified, and their chance to dominate India rendered an immediate possibility, especially after the Maratha defeat at Panipat. It is because the Marathas are said to have come closest to thwarting the English that their mutual relations in these early years are of special interest.

The source material has been drawn from the Diaries of the Bombay Government. Some of it was published by G. W. Forrest, but not so as to give an adequate picture of what happened.[1] The Diaries are a particularly revealing source, for they contain the discussions of the Bombay Council in which the members voiced their real feelings. Hence the Diaries can be a valuable check on the diplomatic correspondence, which not seldom hides the real intentions behind courteous professions of friendship.

Till the Maratha Occupation of Salsette

As already indicated, till 1736 there are few references to the Maratha central power in the transactions of the Bombay Government. It should however be noted that our sources are incomplete, for the Diaries of some of the years are missing.

At the outset we find the English distrustful of Śāhū, and believing that he was still the effective head of the Maratha State. Thus the Governor of Bombay, Robert Cowan, wrote on 28 (17) July 1733: "...... and if we are not greatly misinformed, the Savajee Rajahs his predecessors have had fleets of forty sails of vessels formerly, and if the present Sou Rajah should emulate his ancestors in his naval forces, as of late years he has outdone them at land, he will prove too formidable for us to withstand." And Cowan went on to express his firm conviction, "if we do not make a considerable addition to our marine force, we must not pretend to trade in these seas but as tributaries to the common enemy [i.e. the Marathas, enemies of the English and the Mughals], as we do not believe any peace with them can last longer than it suits with their interest to keep it."[2] However, the final attitude of the

1. *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series*, Bombay, 1885.

2. Diaries (Maharashtra State Archives, Public Department) 6.43,45. For the chronology of the Diaries, cf. *Indica* (Organ of the Heras Institute, St Xavier's College, Bombay), 4.44.

British, as expressed in their dealings with Angre but equally applicable to the central power, was dominated by commercial considerations. For they would have preferred to come to an understanding with the Marathas and secure freedom of trade, as being the 'more advantageous and less expensive policy'[3]

The Marathas on their side permitted the Vaṇzāras, a caste of traders from the Ghat country, to visit Bombay. In 1735 the Vaṇzāras complained to the English that their Bombay brokers levied duties on their goods in the Thana Creek, as a contribution towards the Portuguese defence. The Bombay Government fined the brokers and forbade them to continue the practice.[4]

At the Fall of Salsette

In the beginning of April 1737 Bājīrāo's troops, commanded by his brother Chimṇājī Āpā, invaded the island of Salsette. The Portuguese abandoned Thana, but still held out in their forts of Mahad Island and Bandra hill, and in the Jesuit church on Mahim Creek, on the site now occupied by the slaughter house. The English immediately felt threatened and put themselves in a posture of defence. It was decided to place patrol boats on Mahim Creek and to strengthen a section of the town wall.[5] All the same, the British kept characteristically cool and went on with their usual business. On 11 April the Council met to discuss the untrustworthiness of their Surat brokers in matters of trade and resolved to dismiss them.[6]

Some of the English felt that it would be best to give a free hand to the Marathas to clear Salsette of the Portuguese and to negotiate secretly with them to transfer it to the English. The government rejected the suggestion as perfidious, and instead informed Chimṇājī that they were willing to mediate between him

3. *Ibid.*, 6.77 f.
4. *Ibid.*, 8.252-54.
5. *Ibid.*, 10A.133f, 164f. For a presentation of the history of the Maratha invasion of Salsette according to Portuguese and Maratha sources, cf. P. Pissurlencar, *Portugueses e Maratas*, IV, *como se perdeu Baçaim* (Nova Goa 1932) 15-20; *Portugez-Marāṭhe Sambandha* (Marathi) (Luso-Marāṭhā Relations) by the same author (Poona 1967) 154f.
6. Diaries 10A, 137-47.

and the Portuguese. Chimṇājī accepted the offer, but the English delayed and waited to see whether the Portuguese would receive reinforcements. The Marathas on their side stopped the export of rice from Salsette to Bombay and detained boats belonging to English subjects, which only served to make the Bombay Government more cautious.[7]

The English would have therefore willingly assisted the Portuguese to dislodge the Marathas from Thana, or even ventured to do so by themselves. But the Marathas had at Thana a force of two or three thousand and were able to reinforce it at short notice, while the English could spare only 440 men for the venture, and the Portuguese 1200. The idea was therefore abandoned.[8]

On 1 June the English decided to pursue the negotiations. And because it "might look like too great a condescension" if they were to send an Englishman, and because they could not be sure that he would not be detained it was decided to send an Indian by name Rāmjī Prabhu, "a person of capacity and experience." Chimṇājī showed himself ready to return the boats and allow the English free use of the rivers, provided in return they would shield him from Portuguese counter-attacks. To this the English would not agree. Finally Chimṇājī returned the vessels and conceded freedom of the rivers, but advised the English not to sail the rivers of Thana and Panvel for the duration of the war. He declared his intention of clearing the land of the Portuguese, but expressed his desire to "preserve a strict friendship with the English."[9]

Having failed to stem the Maratha tide militarily, the Portuguese turned to diplomacy and asked the English to mediate. The English made overtures to Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar, the commander of Salsette, and the representatives of the two sides met in Bombay under English eyes. The Maratha envoy however made it clear that he was acting only on behalf of Khaṇḍojī without Chimṇājī's sanction, and if any agreement was reached it would not be binding on the commanders posted around Bassein. The Portuguese representative replied that he had powers only to conclude a

7. *Ibid.*, 10A, 178-82.
8. *Ibid.*, 10A, 286-89, 312-18.
9. *Ibid.*, 10A, 218-20, 227f, 235.

complete treaty. The meeting thereupon broke up, and negotiations were not to be resumed till after the fall of Bassein.[10]

A year and a half passed before the Marathas pressed the attack against the fortifications of Mahad Island and Bandra and against Bassein. In this interval the English did not take Chimṇājī's profession of friendship at its face value, and forbade the export of strategic material such as lead, iron and steel, to the Maratha country.[11] The Portuguese repeatedly requested the English for help. At the time of the invasion of Salsette, the Bombay Government had sent a small detachment to the assistance of the Jesuit church across Mahim Creek. When early in 1739 the Marathas commenced their final drive, the English supplied quantities of small ammunition to Bassein, as otherwise their conduct "would not only afford matter of just reproach for deserting an European nation allied and in friendship with our sovereign, but be of the worst consequence to the interest and welfare of the Island." Three weeks before the fall of Bassein the members of the Bombay Council responded to a desperate plea for help by contributing Rs. 15,000 in their personal capacity, because the Home Government had forbidden loans to other powers. But as often as the Portuguese proposed that the English should join them in counterattacking, they firmly declined.[12]

Meanwhile, in retaliation against the policy forbidding the export of strategic material and against the help provided by the English to the Portuguese, the Marathas refused to deliver timber belonging to the Bombay Government which had fallen into their hands when they captured Thana. It addition, a rumour reached Bombay that Śāhū contemplated an attack on the island. In these circumstances, every time a report reached Bombay that the Maratha forces in Salsette had been reinforced, the English felt themselves threatened. Accordingly, it was decided to strengthen the defences by constructing works at Dharavi on Mahim Creek, at Worli, and on the north side of Bombay Fort.[13]

10. *Ibid.*, 11A.212; 11B.335, 357f.
11. *Ibid.*, IIA.276; 12C.675f.
12. *Ibid.*, 10B.321f, 526; 11A.2f, 93-95; 11B.448-51; 12A.69f, 117-22, 215, 219-21.
13. *Ibid.*, 10b.342, 364-67, 439.

When the Marathas renewed their attack against the Portuguese, Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar advised the English to withdraw their detachment from Bandra. The English replied that treaty obligations required them to afford that much help to the Portuguese, but that for the rest they wished to live as good neighbours with the Marathas. But their real reasons, as revealed in the Council's discussions, were that they could not trust the Marathas to be peaceful neighbours and that their withdrawal would discourage the Portuguese.[14]

All the same the outlook was bleak, and the English wanted to destroy a battery at the foot of Bandra hill to prevent it from falling into Maratha hands. Curiously enough the Marathas too were urging them to destroy the fortifications, because it would leave the Portuguese defenceless The Governor of Bassein at first opposed the plan, but finally agreed. Nevertheless the English awaited further developments. On 20 February, 1739, the Portuguese were obliged to abandon Mahad Island and the situation of Bandra became hopeless. Accordingly, on April 5 "the demolition of Bundorah took place, it being blown up with the consent of all parties, ours, the Portugueze, and the Morattas, which last had often pressed the President by letters and messages to have it effected."[15]

The Fall of Bassein and After

On 17 May, 1739, news reached Bombay that the end had come. The entry in the Bombay Diaries for that date reads, "received the melancholy news of the capitulation being signed the 5th [i.e. the 16th][16] inst. for the surrender of Bassein within one week." The Marathas had breached the walls at two points and felt encouraged to launch an assault, which they "attempted with the utmost fury and resolution, being repulsed several times, and as often returned to the attack, and at length gained lodgment on the bastions." The small band of defenders still held out for two days before hoisting the white flag. Chimṇājī had chivalrously allowed them to evacuate "on most honourable conditions."[17]

14. *Ibid*., 12A.44f.
15. *Ibid*., 12A.78-81, 101, 180f. Cf. *Portugez-Marāṭhe Saṁbaṅdha* 162.
16. For the chronology cf. fn. 2.
17. Diaries 12A.277-79. Cf. *Portugez-Marāṭhe Saṁbandha* 164.

A month earlier the Bombay Government had received instructions from home to cultivate Maratha friendship and to avoid "all just occasions of rupture or enmity." Thereupon, foreseeing the end, they had frankly admitted to themselves that their actions had belied their professions of neutrality, for they had helped the Portuguese and had placed an embargo on the export of strategic material to the Marathas. On 27 April, 1739, the British had decided to conciliate the Marathas by supplying them with whatever materials they might request, if they were able to procure the same from other sources, and in November following, they proclaimed to the merchants that "the free export of these goods, and in particular iron, lead, and steel, will be permitted to the Gaut countries."[18]

Two days before the fall of Bassein the English had conceived the plan of sending an embassy to Śāhū, whom they believed to be the effective head of the Maratha State. Immediately on receipt of the news of the capture of Bassein, they implemented the plan and despatched Capt. William Gordon, "as he understands the country language tolerably well, and is acquainted with the humour and manner of these people." A certain Bikājī Pant, who had previously served as the Siddī's envoy to the Maratha court, was deputed to assist Gordon. The envoy was instructed to tell Śāhū that the English desired to be friends and hoped that trade between Bombay and the neighbouring Maratha territory would increase, so that "your subjects, inhabitants of them, will become more rich and opulent than those of your other provinces." But his principal concern was to find out the intentions of Śāhū's advisers, which was not thought to be difficult, "as they observe little or no secrecy in them." He was also asked to emphasise that "our nation has never meddled with their religion or had any views of conquest or extending their dominion in these parts, where trade is our sole business and end of residence."[19]

While Gordon was with Śāhū the government opened negotiations with Chimṇājī Āppā, and at the latter's own request sent to him Capt. James Inchbird, who is described as being "well versed in the nature, customs, and manners of the gentoo governments."[20]

18. Diaries 12A.213f; 12C.675f.
19. *Ibid.*, 12A.274-76, 279f, 284f, 291-94.
20. *Ibid.*, 12B.350-52, 356-60.

From Chimṇājī's camp at Bassein, Inchbird reported that the Marathas proposed exacting terms: the English had to sell them arms and ammunition, and detain ships which did not happen to carry the Maratha pass. Chimṇājī also demanded that the English should not send an embassy to Śāhū without first informing him, thus impressing upon them the fact that his family was effectively at the helm of Maratha affairs.[21] Chimṇājī further drove this lesson home by drawing up the draft of the proposed treaty in the name of 'Bageraw Punditt Pradan'. It was dated 1140 [A.H.], and the stipulations were: the English were to sell him military stores; they were to allow free flow of trade between Bombay and the Maratha territory; they should not help the enemies of the Marathas; and they should protect Maratha ships in the whole of Bombay harbour. As the Bombay Government was in no position to dictate, it subscribed to all the terms except the last, because it would have obliged them to oppose Portuguese ships even if they should engage Maratha vessels beyond English waters. Chimṇājī unilaterally restored the rejected clause, and ratified and returned the treaty in August. The English, however, remained convinced that they were not bound by the objectionable clause.[22]

Meanwhile Gordon had reached Satara on 3 June, where his party "rested at a place provided for accommodating travellers, where the head of the jogees named Vetaw Naique courteously treated us on being told we were English." But Śāhū was away besieging Miraj. Thither Gordon repaired, and the description he has left us of how he was received throws light on Śāhū's simplicity. He says that he found Śāhū "in a mean place he had erected with his own hands, for his present convenience during the siege. He was very gracious to us and seemed delighted with the birds that made a part of our present, expressing a willingness to do us good offices." But Gordon "soon understood that Badgeraw is so powerful that he makes small account of the Rajah." At the time of leave-taking, Śāhū requested from Bombay gifts which were in keeping with his simplicity: "eight guinea hens, two pair[s] of turkeys, some Bussorah pi[d]geons, a little mummy, and any kind of curious birds."[23]

21. *Ibid.*, 12B.372-99.
22. *Ibid.*, 12B.445-50, 456-66, 517.
23. *Ibid.*, 12B.480f, 482f, 485.

Gordon found that Śāhū's Pratinidhi, Śrīpatrao, also bore on the whole a friendly disposition towards the English and "allowed we were a good sort of people, and permitted the exercise of all religions." All the while Bājīrāo was keeping a watchful eye on the English move, and had sent one of his men to find out what passed between Śāhū and the English. Through him Śāhū advised the Peshwā that "by keeping on good terms with the English he would be greater gainer than by breaking with them." Śāhū also issued the following directive to the Peshwā, of which the English were given a copy: "The procedure and policy of the English is of merchants, and they have always carried it with sincerity to our nation." Bājīrāo, too, thereupon wrote to the English that he desired trade between them and his people to flourish.[24]

For the next two years the English, while continuing to be cautious, tried to be outwardly friendly. The Marathas on their side reciprocated this show of friendship, but there were also occasions of friction.

The Bombay Government, in the first place, instructed their naval commander, "the Morattas being in friendship with us, we must enjoin you not to molest their vessels." Moreover, as a result of the re–opening of trade facilities, the Vanzāras reappeared in Bombay. They are described as "properly the inhabitants of the Gaut country, who resort hither in the fair season bringing with them considerable sums of money, with which they purchase large quantities of goods and then return upcountry." For their encouragement it was judged advisable to exempt them from the curfew restrictions in force at the time in Bombay Fort. The British also secured cattle for slaughter from the Peshwā's territory, though the Maratha guards had to be bribed heavily to induce them to connive at it.[25]

As a further show of friendship the English complied with the requirements of diplomatic etiquette. Thus an entry in the Diaries under the date 19(8) May, 1740, reads: "Received the news of Badjeerow's sudden death upcountry, upon which the President sent his compliments of condolence to his son Ballaji Badgerow who is his successor, and to Chimnajee brother to the deceased

24. *Ibid.*, 12B.467-69, 481f.
25. *Ibid.*, 12B.490; 13C.541; 15A.71-73.

now encamped before Colabbo."[26] A wedding or a birth in the Peshwā's family also served as occasion for similar signs of friendship. Thus at the end of February 1940, the Court of Poona informed Bombay that Chimṇājī Āppā's son was going to be married, and hinted that "on such occasions it was customary to send a person with a compliment, accompanied with a present." The Bombay Government accordingly got ready fireworks and gold ornaments, "as such things duly timed may have a good effect in establishing and improving such a good correspondence with those people as may, when once fixed, turn to advantage." And an entry under the date 24 (13) August, 1742, reads: "And [as] by the custom of the Morattas a present is generally made on the birth of a child; it is agreed that we take this occasion of sending a gold chain and shawl, to the value of one hundred rupees, to be presented to the newborn grandson of the late Chimnajee."[27]

Similar courtesy was shown to other officers, even subordinate ones, and to persons of influence, in order to win their goodwill. Thus when Gordon was at Śāhū's court, he was advised to pay his respects to "Eswant Raw Madea (a great sardar and principal favourite), Jevajee Candy Raw (Chief Writer, and Crusnea Annand Raw (Secretary)." Gordon took the advice and presented them with pieces of cloth.[28] In 1741 the Bombay Government saw to it that they were represented at the wedding of Śaṅkrājī Paṅt, the Governor of Bassein, "it being usual for those in friendship to perform such marks of civility on those occasions." They presented him with 'one piece of pattola, one piece of chundey, and one piece of saddy', costing altogether Rs. 53. In February the following year Śaṅkrājī Paṅt intimated that his niece was due to be married. The English decided to present a gold chain and shawls, costing Rs. 280, as it was felt that "should we omit this common compliment they would immediately put their own construction upon [it], and probably not the most favourable one to our interest."[29]

26. *Ibid.*, 13B.298.
27. *Ibid.*, 13A.128, 132; 15B.427.
28. *Ibid.*, 12B.484. Re. Yaśvantrāo Mahadev, cf. *A History of the Maratha People*, C. A. Kincaid—D. B. Parasnis, II (Oxford 1922) 240f.
29. *Ibid.*, 14B.361; 15A.92f.—Re. Śaṅkrājī Paṅt, cf. *Portugez-Marāṭhe Sambaṅdha* 160, 236.

Another example of such politico-social relations is the letter received by the Governor of Bombay from Chimṇājī's son, in August 1742, "acquainting him a principal officer laboured under some disorder, and therefore desired one of our doctors might be sent to his assistance." The English thereupon despatched a doctor to Satara at their own cost, and when he had to return, replaced him by another, Trotter by name. At the beginning of December, 1742, Trotter was still at Satara, as the person for whose sake their services had been sought was not yet fully recovered, "and another person of distinction in the Sou Rajah's court had desired Mr. Trotter's attendance." Trotter asked for some medicines and the government complied, convinced that "such marks of favour may be of advantage on occasion."[30]

To these signs of friendship the Marathas responded favourably several times. When Chimṇājī received the Governor's condolences on the death of Bājīrāo, he assured the messenger of "his friendship and [his] actions so convincing of his sincerity that he did not doubt that he should acquire a greater affection for him then they had for his brother." In October, 1741, Peshwā Bālājī Bājīrāo and Chimṇājī's son wrote to the British, referring to the treaty of 1739 and assuring them that "they will be always mindful to preserve punctually the articles of peace settled with their fathers."[31]

The following was another example of Maratha goodwill that same year. There was a custom "for several years passed that when a messenger comes from the governments round us, he is generally attended with a number of armed sepoys." This was now thought to be undesirable for reasons of security. The matter was represented to the Marathas and for the moment they agreed to abide by English wishes "so far that now, on any occasion of sending hither, the person came without any retinue."[32]

A remarkable instance of Maratha trust was their acceptance of the English as mediators in their negotiations with the Portuguese in connection with the treaty of Poona in 1740. Obliged

30. Diaries 15B.426f; 15C.600f.
31. *Ibid.*, 13B.334f; 14C.590.
32. *Ibid.*, 14A 65.

finally to come to terms with the Marathas, the Viceroy offered to hand over Chaul to Śāhū and requested the Governor of Bombay to negotiate on his behalf. The Governor was by now better aware than the Portuguese regarding who was the real power in the Maratha State. Accordingly, while agreeing to mediate, he advised the Viceroy to direct his offer to the Peshwā. The Marathas on their side accepted the English as intermediaries. The latter performed their task well by persuading each side to moderate its demands. They told the Portuguese that the Marathas were strong to attack Goa and this was a unique opportunity of coming to an agreement with them. To the Marathas they said that they stood to lose if the Portuguese were to hand over Chaul to someone else, perhaps to the English themselves. The Portuguese proposed to hand over Chaul in the first instance to the English; only after the Marathas had complied with certain of the treaty stipulations namely transference of the fort to them. To this also the Marathas agreed. Things went well and on 20 December, 1740, the English left Chaul, "having delivered that place to the persons appointed by the Morattas, to the entire satisfaction of both parties."[33]

However, the relations were not uniformly smooth. Six months after the fall of Bassein, reports reached the English that the Marathas were collecting troops across Thana Creek with a view to making an attempt on Bombay. The reports were never confirmed, but the Governor decided that it was best to be prepared for any eventuality.[34] About the same time the Marathas seized 40 fishing boats with 84 men, of those who had taken refuge in Bombay when Salsette was invaded, and the English had to content themselves with lodging an oral protest. In the beginning of November, 1740, they detained four vessels belonging to Bombay. The Government protested to the Maratha naval commander at Arnal, but to no purpose. They then decided to provide a convoy for their ships between Bombay and Surat, the part "most infested by the Moratta cruisers."[35] The boats were eventually restored, but it was found that "they had taken out

33. For the full English documentation on this subject, cf. 'The Rendition of Chaul', *Indica* 5.52-63.

34. Diaries 12C.840f; 13C.545f.

35. *Ibid.*, 12C.840f; 13C.545f.

of them a parcel of dungaree[36] and oil, which they had however promised to pay the amount of."[37]

In June, 1741, the Governor of Salsette, Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar, interfered with British justice in peculiar circumstances. A certain Śaṅkarabhaṭ disputed the title of 'Gummaby', a widow, to certain lands. The Mayor's Court decided in favour of the plaintiff "pursuant to the rules observed by the cast[e] of Braminees, who we understand were consulted on the occasion." Thereupon 'Gummaby' crossed over to Salsette and placed her case before Khaṇḍojī, who decided partly in her favour. Khaṇḍojī next detained Śaṅkarabhaṭ when he "went that way on his proper business," and obliged him to sign an undertaking, assigning half the property to the widow. Khaṇḍojī at the same time reclaimed the old privilege entitling a Maratha envoy to enter Bombay with an armed retinue, and threatened to seize the Bombay boats which then happened to be at Kalyan. The British felt that "the submitting to so gross an imposition will not only bring on us great discredit, but in the end prove an introduction to their still greater demands and insults, when they find so tame an acquiescence."

Capt. Inchbird was therefore sent to discuss matters with Khaṇḍojī. The latter at first maintained that a wrong had been done to the widow and he had purely been moved by compassion for her. But two of his own officers sided with Inchbird, so that he finally acknowledged his mistake and gave his word not to interfere again in such matters. On the privilege of an armed retinue for Maratha envoys, a compromise was reached, it being agreed "that such officers should have no more than five sepoys with them, and to carry the usual arms." In spite of this, however, Inchbird was not favourably impressed and gave it as his opinion that "this place ought never to rely on their friendship, but exercise all possible caution in guarding against those treacherous maxims they have so long persisted in."[38]

In 1741 there were rumours that the Portuguese were assembling forces to regain their lost territory. The Marathas suspected

36. A kind of coarse cotton cloth. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases and of kindred terms*, by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell (London 1886) art, 'dungaree'.

37. Diaries 13C.576.

38. *Ibid.*, 14B.311f, 324-28, 357-60.

that the English were in league with them and interferred with their land post, hoping to get at the truth. On 25 (14) August that year, the Governor informed his Council "that the Morattas lately [had been] opening all letters which come by pattamars,[39] with a view of discovering an inteligence of the Portugueze designs, proceeding from a jealousy they have conceived of our intentions, on the Portugueze coming with an armament to the northward." It was accordingly decided to send "a letter and a proper present to Bajerow's and Chimnajee's sons with assurances of our preserv-ing an exact neutrality between them and the Portuguese."[40]

We have already noticed cases of interference with English shipping. One such had a humorous ending. In November, 1742, fifteen Maratha ships stopped an English naval vessel at the Surat bar, and four men went on board to inspect the cargo. Finding "nothing in but ballast, [they] contented themselves with ordering a chest to be opened imagining it treasure, but proving wine they begged six bottles and retired."[41]

We may now conclude by taking note of the information which the Bombay Government gathered in this period about the internal condition of the Marathas. As we have already seen, about the time of the fall of Bassein, the English were made aware that the Psehwā was now the real head of the Maratha State. What Gordon observed at Śāhū's court only confirmed this, for he concluded that Bājīrāo's authority was "even such that in the absence of the Rajah, and contrary to the advice of the seven principal counsellors, he can enforce a complete obedience to his sole mandates." The English further learned that there was a party at Satara opposed to the Peswā and believing that he wanted "to set up an independent state, and shake off the Sou Rajah's obedience." Gordon was specifically instructed to find out who composed this party and how much they could be relied on, and "to instil a jealousy of his growing power and ambition."[42]

Among the indications which Gordon got of Bājīrāo's inde-pendence we may note the following. Just then Bājīrāo's general

39. i.e., land post—cf. Yule-Burnell, art, 'Pattamar'
40. Diaries 14B.434, 450f, 460.
41. *Ibid.*, 15C.584.
42. *Ibid.*, 12B.29-194, 380f, 489.

Vyaṅkaṭrāo, returned from his expedition against Goa and passed through Miraj. Śāhū went out to meet him, but the general deflected his course, "alle (d) ging he owed no sort of subjection to the Rajah." He was, however, finally prevailed upon to apologise. Gordon also learned that Śāhū did not fully support Bājīrāo's policies. He had "approved of the seizing of Tannah, and of the island of Salsette, but the attack on Bassein was undertaken without his consent, not being desirous of the total expulsion of the Portugueze." In fact, just at this time a report reached Miraj that Nādir Shāh contemplated marching into the Deccan, and Śāhū openly burst out against Bājīrāo, "Will Bassaim and all our new acquisitions make amends for twenty thousand brave men lost there?"[43]

Gordon also thought he had evidence of corruption and treachery within Śāhū's court. On arriving at Miraj he was received by the Pratinidhi, Śrīpatrāo, before he could be admitted to Śāhū's presence, only to find that "it was ill taken that we first saw Seerpaute Raw, a man famous for the love of money." A few days later it was the talk of the camp that "Seerpaute Raw was the third time detected of supplying the besieged with ammunition." The English also became aware that certain feminine influences dominated the Court. For Gordon reported, "As we could not see Viruboy, a woman of consequence, we sent her letters and present. She gave a civil profession in return."[44]

Chimṇājī's death in December, 1740, appears to have been the signal for divisions among the Peshwā's own officers. Inchbird got an inkling of this when he visited Khaṇḍojī Māṇkar in connection with the case of 'Gummaby'. "I plainly discovered," he reported, "that since Chimnajee Oppah's death, the officers are fallen into animosities. Mancarr assumes a superior power to what he had before and will not entirely regard what orders are sent him from Punah, pretending that he shall own no more than one Master (Nanna)."[45]

At the same time Inchbird became aware that he could count on friends in the Maratha camp. For when Khaṇḍojī tried to justify

43. *Ibid.*, 12B.483f, 485, 488. Re. Vyaṅkaṭrāo's Goa campaign, cf. Kincaid-Parasnis 256.

44. Diaries 14B.482f, 484. Re. Virubai, cf. Kincaid-Parasnis 122, 150.

45. *Ibid.*, 14B.359.

his interference in the widow's case, Inchbird objected, "and being assisted by Gungadar Punt, an officer of importance, and one Ramajee Punt entrusted with the fort, who was particularly active and bold in declaring his disapproval of Mancarr's conduct, the latter was at last brought to own his error." Some understanding seems to have been reached on this occasion between Inchbird and a Maratha officer. For when he again anchored at Thana a couple of months later, being sent to protest against interference with the English post, he told his interpreter to go ashore. Here is what followed: "As he passed the door of an officer of respect, he was called in (being known and being enjoined secrecy). He told him he had forgot his promise to me, and let him know what passed when Condajee Manchur, Sancrajee Punt, and the Duan, were met." The information suplied was that Śaṅkrājī had proposed attacking Bombay, but tha Khaṇḍojī and the 'Duan' had objected, saying that "as Bassein had cost them some years in taking, they would find Bombay a(s) much more difficult task, and if one was stone the other would certainly prove iron."[46] This is interesting evidence of how the Maratha officers admitted that the conquest of Bassein had not been easy. To the English, moreover, the information meant that the Marathas had conceived respect for their arms.

The English also came to know that the Maratha central power exercised no effective control over the other chiefs and that it was not unusual for them to be at variance among themselves. As early as 1734, the English learned that the Peshwā was at variance with the Gāikwāḍs, who had entrenched themselves in Gujarat. Later they saw the house of Aṅgre divided against itself, with Mānājī established at Colaba and seeking their help against his brother Sāṁbhājī. The Peshwā too wanted to curb Sāṁbhājī's power and showed himself willing to accept English cooperation for the purpose. The very house of Śivājī was divided, one branch being established at Satara in the person of Śāhū, and another at Kolhapur. In 1742, the English were the recipients of a proposal from Sāṁbhājī of Kolhapur inviting them to join him against Sāṁbhājī Aṅgre.[47]

Nevertheless, the information which the English had of the Peshwā's power was such as to make them cautious not to provoke

46. *Ibid.*, 14B.357-60; 14C.527f.
47. *Ibid.*, 7A.99f; 12C.716; 13A.209-12; 13B.237, 305f; 15B.381f.

his hostility. On returning from his visit to Śāhū, speaking of Poona, Gordon reported: "That place seems well built and abounds with people, and is the chief residence of Bajerow, who has a great extent of country, to appearance more fertile and valuable than any other I had passed through. I visited the found(e)ry, where I saw many cohorn and bomb-shells, said to have been cast there, and a form of a thirteen-inch mortar. I was told they make such with great ease, and have learned the art of running iron for making shot. Bagerow (is said) to give great encouragement to weavers for fabricating such things as are useful to the natives, and whereof great quantities are imported to Bombay and other parts. His territories are well peopled; and the poorer sort, in the farming way, are rendered easy in their rents, which causes his extent of dominion to be in a very flourishing condition, more so than any other in possession of the Morattas." Gordon estimated that Śāhū's fighting force numbered 26,000, and Bājīrāo's 40,000. Of Bājīrāo, in particular, he reported, " 'Tis certain they can raise large armies with much facility. He is very secret in his purposes insomuch that the forces which attend him are often ignorant where he intends to lead them. They follow him with an implicit obedience."[48]

48. *Ibid.*, 12B.487, 489.

Pattern of British Administration in Garoland

BY

Dr. Jayanta Bhusan Bhattacharjee,

The hills of the Garos, now a district of Meghalaya,* are mostly rugged and precipitious into which innumerable rivers cut deep gorges as they descend down upon the plains in the north and the south. They are clothed with dense forests and bordered by patches of hollows and swamps. In the interior, the climate is temperate and even cold in winter, but in areas adjoining plains it is extremely enervating. No wonder, therefore, these are dumping grounds for malarial fever; while kalazar, cholera and smallpox were hitherto endemic. The mountainous character of the country rendered inter-communication extremely difficult, and most of the rivers remains unnavigable even in summer when these are fed by heavy monsoon. Although bordered on three sides by the Bengal plains, due to the geographical reasons the Garos remained secluded till recent times.[1]

On the other hand, the Garos were highly superstitious. They believe in their own tribal religion, called *Songsarik*. Mythologically, One *Saljong* was the supreme of the Gods under whom there were many other Gods and Goddesses, in charge of certain departments. The heavenly bodies like sun, moon, stars and spirits were believed to preside over the hills and were considered as the agents *Saljong* to manage earthly affairs. Cocks were sacrificed to the heavenly bodies, and fermented liquor, rice and flowers were offered to the spirits of the hills, rivers and forests. Along with deities, there was a galaxy of demons who also occupied

* Situated between latitude 25′9° north and longitude 89°47′ and 91°2′ east, covering an area of 3152 sq. miles, and is surrounded by Goalpara on the north, Khasi hills on east, Mymensing (Bangladesh) on south and Rangpur (Bangladesh) and Goalapara on the west.

1. Reynolds, C. S., *A narrative of our connections with Dussannee and Cheanee Garrows*, *JASB*, 1849, pp. 45-60.

prominent position in the faith of the people. Sorcery or witchcraft was also popular among them, and they were generally practiced to turn down the rivals or to harm others. Like the Nagas, they used to collect human heads for religious purposes and for social distinction.[2] As they believed in the doctrine of re-birth and that all force of a man lies in his head which can be transferred, for funeral they invariably required skulls to be burnt along with the corpse so that the deceased would inherit intelligence in his next life. Therefore, they raided upon the adjacent plains or other villages in the hills and escaped with the heads of the victims. These were trophies of their expeditions and would preserve them on the roof of houses to command over others.[3]

Nakpante or beachelors' house, where the unmarried lads of the village, over twelfth year of age, would sleep together in the night, made them disciplined and imparted them training for success in war. Their chief weapons consisted of sword, shield bamboo-spear, hoe, *dao,* battle-axe, bows and arrows.[4] For their defence, the Garos planned the villages to make them more advantageous for defence than for offensive. The approaches to the villages were generally through narrow lanes; while deep ditches and fences of thorns defended them against any outside attack. In addition, the *Panjis* or bamboo-spikes were studded on the exposed parts of almost every village to prevent the advance of the enemy. The dense jungle, heavy rainfall, and aridity of the mountain streams with the commencement of the rain and diseases caused by the unhealthy climate provided formidable defence to these hillmen against invaders. The Garos resorted mainly to surprise and ambuscades, and raided upon the plains generally in the evening and without exhibiting any symptom of preparation earlier. They would assemble in the jungle near the village in their cntemplation to massacre and suddenly jump upon with wild sounds as signal to the party. Like the Nagas, they rolled

2. Dalton, E. T., *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal,* Calcutta, 1872, p. 60.

3. Foreign Political Proceedings, 21 October, 1848, No. 23; 25 February, 1831, No. 39.

4. Hunter, W., *A Statistical Account of Assam,* London, 1879, Vol. II, pp. 137-41.

down huge stones and not unoften barricaded the paths leading to their villages.[5]

Garo Polity

The mountainous character of the country, linguistic variations and interclanish feuds prevented political unity and the growth of an established form of government amongst the Garos. But the Garo society was intensely democratic, and as such many of the functions of the state were performed by the society itself. It had some kin-groups known as *mechong* or clan which was an exogamous matrilineal descent group and acted as an unit in respect of determining ownership of property and rules governing exogamy. *Mechong* had smaller groups called *mahari* having some blood relationship among the members all of whom generally resided within a particular area. *Mahari* was jointly responsible for the conduct of any of its members. In cases of disputes with an alien, one expected support from his *Mahari.* When somebody was required to pay compensation, the members of *mahari* subscribed commonly to it and the amount of compensation, likewise, would be divided equally among the members. The members would sit together to decide all questions involving the *mahari* in general or some of its members. The disputes were also decided by the *mahari* according to local customs and usages. According to the traditional code of the Garos, all lands belonged to the *mahari* and it was the function of the *mahari* to distribute land among its members.

The *mechongs,* on the other hand, were grouped under a larger unit called *chatchi* and their members had common title, namely, *Sangma, Marak* and *Momin.* While exogamy was the function of *mechong, Chatchi* regulated the marriages. They obeyed the headman of the village known as *Lakma,* in some places *Sardar.* The office was hereditary, but the chief must be acceptable to the villagers. He exercised much influence in social and economic matters. The religious functions were generally conducted by the *Lakma* and certain disputes arising within the village were decided

5. Payfair, A., *The Garos,* London, 1893, pp. 76-7; Hamilton, F., *An Account of Assam,* Gauhati, 1840, p. 89.

with the help of a *Panchayat*, consisting of all members of the village, headed by the *Lakma*.[6]

Thus in the interior of the hills, the Garo clans were independent of one another or of any out-side control; but those in the border areas were under nominal control of the *Zamindars* of Karaibari, Kalumalupara, Mechpara and Hubraghat on the north and Sherpur and Susung in the South. These *Zamindars* had passed a long course of ancestry in constant intercourse with the hillmen bordering upon their estates, and many of them were even allied to these tribes either by birth or marriage. The influence which their ties gave the chiefs over their 'savage' neighbours was a powerful means of restraining them from erruption. But the interest of the *Zamindars* was mainly economic. They exercised only a nominal control over these hillmen and were in the habit of collecting from them certain duties in kind on all articles of produce which they might bring for sale to the markets established by the *Zamindars* in the low land. With every load of cotton brought to the market, a small bundle had to be carried for the *Zamindar.* The latter also derived considerable profit from advancing money and goods to the Garos for the cultivation of cotton, thus securing to themselves an additional privilege of pre-emption. All these actuated the *Zamindars* to maintain peace in the frontier and to suppress any incursion on the part of these tribes not unoften attended with much excesses.[7]

Mughal Policy

The Mughal Government of Bengal had rightly realised the nature of the Garos vis-a-vis the status of the *Zamindars,* also known as *Rajas.* They, therefore, did not make any serious attempt to bring the Garos under direct control. The geographical condition rendered it difficult for the Mughal cavalry to penetrate into the hills, the clamatic condition and the rude social habit of the people prevented their intercourse with the neighbouring territories, while their predatory raids upon the plains compelled the Mughals to pursue a policy of non-intervention towards the *Zamindars* and let

6. Playfair, A., *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-26.

7. Elliot, J., *Observations on the inhabitants of Garrow Hills made during a public deputation in* 1787-1788, Asiatic Researches, Vol. III. pp. 33-6.

them remain virtually independent. They were only required to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mughal Government and to pay the *Foujdar* of Rangamati a small annual tribute; a certain number of elephants or a small quantity of *aghur* wood to support certain garrisons. The internal management was left entirely to the hereditary chiefs who were rather treated as tributaries than as subjects. "This must have arisen" as Sisson writes "partly from the very wild and uncultivated state of country which would not have admitted of a regular assessment, and partly from an adherence to a favourite maxim of Mughal policy to conciliate good will of those who might possess local influence on distant frontiers".[8]

These estates on the north-east frontier evidently served as buffer against tribal inroads into Bengal. As a matter of fact, the revenues of the estates were charged only nominally on the condition that the *Choudhuries* would oppose the Garos and other rude mountaineers from invading Bengal. They maintained considerable establishments of armed *Barkandazes* at important passes and were occasionally engaged in hostilities with the tribesmen.[9]

Non-Regulation

The accession of the East India Company to the *Dewani* of Bengal did not bring any change in the affairs of the Garos. In view of the geographical and ethnological reasons, the English, like the Mughals, did not bring these areas under their direct control. Although for the collection of public revenue the Company appointed a *Sezwal*, in place of the *Foujdar* of Rangamati, the actual collection continued to be made by the *Zamindars* and their officials. The *Zamindars* were left undisturbed in internal management of their estates and were allowed to levy duties at the *hats* and markets. They were, of course, enrusted with the duty, as in Mughal times, of repelling the incursions of the Garos and for this they were allowed to retain establishments of armed *Barkandazes*. But before long, the *Zamindars* determined to push their boundaries

8. Bengal Judicial Consultations, 25 April, 1815, No. 17.

9. *Ibid.*, also Mackenzie, A., *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes on the North-East Frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884, p. 245.

towards the hills by subjugating the independent clans, while their economic exactions from the tribesmen became excessive. In retaliation, the Garos carried on prolonged depredations in the plains thereby rendering the lives of the villagers extremely miserable. Inquiries conducted by the British officers revealed that these hills were resourceful and that the greediness of the *Zamindars* to exploit them resulted in the frontier troubles.[10]

The anxiety to maintain peace and tranquility in the frontier was now added with a commercial motive. These hills were rich in oil and coal deposits, its timber, fibre and lac were lucrative, while Garo cotton was expected to be an additional source of supply to Manchester. Thomas Sisson, Joint Magistrate of Rangpur, suggested the introduction of an internal administration among the Garos in line of Cleaveland's system in Bhagalpur Hills.[11] Ultimately, the *thanas* of Goalpara, Dhubri and Karaibari were separated from the district of Rangpur and constituted into a new jurisdiction, called North-East Rangpur, and placed under a Commissioner to deal with the Garos and their allied tribes in the frontier of Bengal. Regulation X of 1822 provided that normal Regulations of the government will not be in force within this area and empowered the Commissioner to act in his discretion to secure permanent peace and to redeem the tribesmen from their utter backwardness. This was the beginning of the Non-Regulated System which was subsequently practised in some other parts of the country; herein the powers of the Judge, Magistrate and Collector were vested in the Commissioner.[12]

David Scott, Magistrate of Rangpur, who was appointed as the first Commissioner of North-East Rangpur, divided the Garos into three classes, viz. dependent, tributary and independent. The areas long under the *Zamindars* were treated as *Khas mahal;* these were directly within the jurisdiction of the *thanas* and under the process of the court. They were assessed under normal rules of the government and the inhabitants were treated as *ryots*. Next to the *Khas mahal* were the *Nazzarrana* or tributary *mahals*. Scott confirmed

10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Regulation X of 1822.

the *Sardars* or headmen in their hereditary position, but they now came to be known as *Laskars*. These chiefs were held responsible for the maintenance of law and order and collection of public revenue or *nazzarana* in and from their respective jurisdiction. In return, they would receive reward–in cash and kind—from the government annually. Above the *Laskars* was placed a native officer, called *Sarbarakar*, to supervise the activities of the *Laskars*.[13] But the expansion of administration over a hostile tribe being too difficult a task, endeavours were made to make the people inclined to the British rule. Scott felt that attention should be given to "redeem the Garos from their utter backwardness", and this could be done, he felt, only by introducing education among the Garos and converting them into Christianity. Accordingly, in 1826 a school was established at Singimari, on Garo–Rangpur borders, and a Missionary, Valentine William Hurley, was appointed as the teacher.[14]

Scott could perhaps proceed further, but the outbreak of the Anglo–Burmese War in 1824 grealy impaired his work when he was appointed the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East Frontier and since then the Office of the Commissioner, N. E. Rang–pur, had been merged with the Agent; the Garo problem was entrusted to the Principal Assistant, Goalpara. As the latter officer was supposed to perform multiple of functions in his district and could hardly spare sufficient time, a sub–Assistant was posted at Singimari to deal with the Garos.[15]

But the independent Garos continued to create disturbances in the frontier through raid, plunder and murders. The *Zamindars* never withdrew their greedy eyes, and uplanders, joined by the *Nazzarana* Garos, retaliated in their traditional way. The punitive expeditions sent every year taxed the government heavily resulting in casualties of the sepoys. Ultimately, the British authorities determined to reduce the Garos to subjection. The offending villages were gradually conquered, and the system in vogue in *Nazzarrana mahals* extended to the resumed territories. In 1866,

13. Bengal Judicial Consultations, 16 February, 1816, Nos. 15-8.
14. Foreign Political Proceedings, 14 March, 1846, No. 48.
15. Judicial Proceedings, August, 1866, No. 63.

Captain Williamson, Assistant Commissioner at Singimari, shifted his headquarters to Tura,[16] and in 1869 Garo Hills were constituted into a district, with Williamson as the first Deputy Commissioner;[17] while the subjugation of the last independent village was completed in 1872.[18] In 1874, Garoland was transferred to the Chief Commissionership of Assam.

Special System of Administration

Like other hill-districts of Assam, Garo Hills occupied a distinct status in the administrative map of British India. The administration of the district was vested in the Deputy Commissioner, under him were placed an Assistant Commissioner and an Extra Assistant Commissioner. The Deputy Commissioner was exclusively in charge of the district in all matters, and at the head of all branches of administration. Apart from the fact that he was the Chief Civil authority, he was entrusted with wide judicial functions. He was independent of the Code of Criminal Procedure, but his powers assimilated to those of the Court of Sessions under that Code. He was expected to utilise the Penal Code as a guide in identifying and discriminating between particular crimes, but much was left to his discretion regarding punishment provided by the Code. He acted as a Court of Appeal in civil cases, and the judicial Commissioner of Assam exercised the powers of the High Court. The Deputy Commissioner was exclusively in charge of police administration, and in fiscal matters all drawing and disbursing powers were vested in him.

Like the *Dalois* in Jaintia Hills and *Gaonburhas* in Naga Hills, the *Laskars* were entrusted with police, revenue and general administration. They were held responsible for the collection of taxes and cesses and maintenance of order in their *ilakas*. The latter duty was confined to the repression of serious disturbances and assisting the village police when forcible resistance to their action was anticipated. They had to appear before the Deputy

16. *Ibid.*, December, 1866, No. 20; also March, 1867, No. 41.

17. Act XII of 1869.

18. Foreign Political Proceedings, January, 1873, No. 529; also October, 1872, No. 392.

Commissioner at intervals to apprise of the situation prevalent in their respective jurisdiction. They were also entrusted to try criminal and civil offences not of a heinous character. The *Panchayats* were constituted in every villages with the leading persons and headed by the *Laskars* to assist the latter in trial of cases. The proceedings would be viva voce and without record. They would try all civil suits except where the persons of other tribes or villages were involved. Criminal offences of heinous character and the civil cases in which persons belonging to different villages or clans were involved were beyond the jurisdiction of the village authorities. Such cases were entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner who had to follow in his proceedings the spirit of the Criminal Procedure Code as far as practicable. He was to exercise the powers of a Magistrate as described in the Code, and also powers similar to those given by the Act XV of 1862 for the trial of cases not punishable with death. An appeal lay from his decision to the Commissioner of Assam in his Judicial capacity. For the trial of the cases punishable with death or more than seven years' imprisonment, the Deputy Commissioner exercised the powers of a Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors. But no sentence of death was to be carried into effect till confirmed by the Commissioner. There could be no appeal from the decision of the village authorities, but the Assistant Commissioner had the power of calling for any case and trying it himself.

An armed Frontier Police Force with several outposts along the Garo hills' borders was responsible for preventing the Garos from encroaching upon the plains and maintaining oder in the border *hats*, while a regular police force, recruited from the various tribes in Goalpara, Cooch Behar and Rangpur, was under an Assistant Superintendent of Police. The *Laskars* or *Zimmadars* were held responsible, as stated already, for peace and tranquility within their respective *ilakas*, while the Deputy Commissioner was in police-charge of the district.

Evidently, the official establishment required a huge expenditure on the part of the government, but taxes collected were only nominal. Lands were never assessed, and the tribesmen paid a house tax of Re. 1/- per house. However, duties levied on *hats*, trade in cotton, timber, birds, canes, etc. as well as fees for licences for catching elephants made good the losses. In addition, timber

trade carried on by the government, forests being declared reserved, enabled latter to earn substantially.[19]

Later Acts

The Act XXII of 1874, known as the Scheduled Districts Act, prescribed a simpler system of administraiton for the hill districts of Assam including Garo Hills. The ways of life led by the people in the tribal societies, their customs and traditions were left untouched by the Act. Several restrictions were imposed on the outsiders in political and economic intercourse with the tribes. This made the Garos, like other tribes, geographically secluded and socio–economically shut to their hills. Regulation II of 1880, known as Frontier Tract Regulation, empowered the Chief Commissioner of Assam to cancel the operation of any law in force in the frontier districts. The enactments relating to civil and criminal procedures, transfer of property, registration, court fees, stamps, etc. were excluded. However, in nineties of the last century Court Fees Act, Stamp Act and Registration Act were extended to the civil station of Tura, like Shillong in Khasi Hills.[20]

By virtue of the authority conferred by the Section 6 of Act XXII of 1874, the Government of East Bengal and Assam, in 1910, formally prescribed the rules for the administration of Justice and Police in Garo Hills. The general administration of the district was vested in the Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Commissioner of Assam, Deputy Commissioner of Garo Hills and his assistants, *Mouzadars, Laskars, Lakmas* and the *Gaonburhas* or such classes of officers as the Lt. Governor would from time to time appoint. The Police establishment was divided into Regular Police and Rural Police. The former class was subjected to the Act V of 1861 and Assam Military Police Regulation. The Rural Police consisted of *Laskars, Sardars and Nakmas* who were held responsible for the detection and prevention of crime and for the maintenance of peace in the hill areas. The administration of Justice was entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner and his assistants. The *Laskars* could dis-

19. Garo Hills Administration Report, 1874; also Assam Report, 1896.
20. Assam Report, 1896.

pose of cases involving theft not exceeding Rs. 5, injury to property not exceeding Rs. 50, injury to person not endangering life or limb, house trespass, affront of whatever kind, gambling and drunken or disorderly brawling. The suits beyond the scope of the *Laskars* and appeals from their decision were to be tried, or heard by the Deputy Commissioner. The latter was competent to try any case and to pass sentence of death, transportation or imprisonment upto maximum period awardable by Penal Code, of whipping and of fine upto any amount. The sentences of death and transportation, however, required confirmation of the Lt. Governor, and imprisonment of seven years and upwards of Commissioner. The High Court had no jurisdiction, and the Courts of the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner were guided by the spirit, but not bound by the letters, of the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure.[21]

Conclusion

Introduction of education and modern system of administration gave the Garos light of civilisation, and the hillmen gave up their horrible practices of hunting human heads and preserving skulls. The gradual development of the district in its various fields opened scope for employment to the Garos, and many of them, whose only occupation was hitherto agriculture, rushed to and accepted jobs in various capacities. Improved method of agriculture and developed means of communications increased their standard of living, and the facilities for trade and commerce added to their economic advancement. Nevertheless, the ulterior motive of the British authorities was mainly to protect their frontier villages from the raids and to exploit the economic reosurces of the hills. The former was aimed to attain by making the people pro-British through the Missionaries and the latter by isolating the area politically, economically and socially through a series of excluding regulations. To convert the people, the government in its own initiative invited the western missions and patronized them by all possible means. Education was left entirely to the Missionaries who were concerned more with proselytism than literacy.

21. Notification No. 746P, dated 24 September, 1910 of the Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The authorities were so much bent upon isolating the tribes that when education was first introduced Bengali was the medium of instruction and the Garo language was written in Bengali script, but at a later stage they went to the length of not only switching over from Bengali to English as medium, but also introducing Roman script for Garo. This widened the cultural gap between the people of the hills and the plains, and the Garos were cut-off till recent times from the main stream of Indian life.

Dalhousie and the Annexation of Oudh: A Reappraisal of Sir William Lee-Warner's Views

BY

PRASHANTO KUMAR CHATTERJEE

It is generally agreed that the annexation of Oudh[1] (1856) and the subsequent land-settlement contributed to the intensification of the Indian Revolt of 1857; indeed, no other conclusion is possible on a study of the details of the Oudh episode. Thus, on the score of expediency, the annexation of Oudh generally received the odium of British historians; while others joined in the condemnation on grounds of justice and humanity. It is unfortunate, however, that Dalhusie's[2] role with respect to the annexation has to this day remained obscure; it has eluded the historian's attention ever since Sir William Lee-Warner had published his monumental two-volumed 'Life of the Marquess of Dalhousie' (1904) on the basis of the Dalhousie Papers. As a biographer and apologist, Lee-Warner failed in the task of a historian; and, with regard to other aspects of Dalhousie's administration too his efforts seemed designed more to rehabilitate the Governor-General in the eyes of posterity than to assess his policies objectively. The present article, based as it is on all available private and official sources, attempts to correct the perspective.

Lee-Warner's narrative[3] leaves the impression that in dealing with Oudh Dalhousie merely acted according to the behest of the home government (comprising the Court of Directors and the India

1. On 16 Aug. 1765 Oudh concluded a Treaty of firm union with the East India Company. In 1831 Bentinck was given leave to take Oudh. In 1847 Hardinge solemnly warned the Nawab of Oudh that unless the administration was reformed within 2 years, the British would assume the Government of Oudh.

2. Marquis of Dalhousie: President, Board of Trade, 1845; Governor-General of India, 1848-56.

3. 'Life', etc., Vol. II, Chap. IX.

Board), who saw no escape 'from the duty of interference'. However, a close scrutiny of the papers reveals that Dalhousie had had the initiative in the affair from beginning to end, and that his masters in London gave concurrence only after initial resistance.

With the expiry in 1849 of Hardinge's[4] time-limit for setting the Oudh administration in order, Dalhousie threatened the Nawab of Oudh with dire consequences and was about to propose action when the 'plaguing' Burmese War broke out.[5] After 'swalloming' Pegu, Dalhousie wished to make a 'mouthful' of Oudh[6 & 7] and be sure of extended tenure to finish his 'handiwork'; otherwise the 'honour' would go to his successor and his 'reputation' suffer. Oudh was a 'splendid' country it would cost nothing to take it, and not much to keep it, would be a 'feather' in the 'cap' of any government which plucked it, and its annexation would be an act of 'true benevolence' towards the people. But Dalhousie would go at it only if allowed to make Oudh 'ours, out and out' by a 'voluntary' Treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. To pluck that 'ripe cherry', Dalhousie wished to remove from the Oudh Residency Sleeman, a 'Protector' of native Powers and a 'sentimentalist', and put him into Council where he was certain of his supremacy. But before taking the plunge, he wanted to make sure whether the home government entertained similar views on the issue.[8]

'Particularly impressed' with the 'wretched' condition of Oudh, Chairman Ellice[9] would give Dalhousie full leave to go at it 'with all his heart'.[10] President Wood[11] entirely agreed with Dalhousie

4. Sir Henry Hardinge: Governor-General of India, 1844-7.

5. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Oct. 1853, DP (abbreviation for Dalhousie Papers) 62; to Ellice 5 Sept. 1853, DP 68. The Dalhousie Papers are now preserved in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

6 & 7. James Graham to Wood 9 Oct. 1853, HP (abbreviation for Hickleton Papers. These were made available for my consultation at the City Library, York, by the Earl of Halifax), No. 70.

8. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Oct. 1853, DP 62; to Ellice 5 Feb., 5 Sept. 1853, DP 68.

9. Russell Ellice: Director of the E.I. Company, 1831-5, 1837-40, 1842-45, 1847-50, 1852-8; Chairman, 1853.

10. Ellice to Dalhousie, 25 July, 24 Oct. 1853, DP 68.

11. Sir Charles Wood, Viscount Halifax: Liberal M.P. 1832-65; President, India Board, Dec. 1852—Feb. 1855; Secretary of State for India, 1859-66.

regarding the desirability and mode of annexing Oudh but would like first to settle Pegu comfortably and have a case beyond question for annexation. Otherwise they would appear to be 'too grasping' and the character of Indian Government suffer.[12] Dalhousie replied that an 'unexceptionable' case was made by British Treaty obligations, and Sleeman's disclosure of 'scandalous' disregard of those obligations, and the fact that obtaining Oudh would consolidate and not extend British territory.[13] Wood agreed it to be a very good deed for the people, but wished to perform the operation 'skilfully' so as not to offend British public opinion, bent on internal improvement in India. He reasoned that with Nagpur a 'sufficient catch' had been made 'in our net' and it would look better to have an 'interval'. Wood was unwilling to take Oudh at the same time lest the impression of 'grasping' should be strong.[14]

In face of Wood's firm views in the matter, Dalhousie made no move for sometime.[15] But the Oudh question was not kept in cold storage for long. Outram[16] was appointed Resident in 1854, and his report on the state of Oudh (15 March 1855),[17] showed that it had grown too bad to be endured and that the British could no longer rest inactive if they wished to observe good-faith towards the Oudh people.[18] Outram's Report formed the basis of Dalhousie's long Minute (18 June 1855),[19] in which he argued that the document, which confirmed Sleeman's report, proved the incorrigibility of the Oudh administration and their utter disregard of the obligation to

12. Wood to Dalhousie 21 Oct., 8 Dec. 1853; Wood Papers (shortened henceforth to WP), Letter Book (briefly LB) III, IV.

13. Dalhousie to Wood 16 May, 3 Dec. 1853; DP. 62. By Art. III of the Treaty of 1801, the E.I. Company undertook to protect the Nawab of Oudh against internal and external attacks on the condition that he ensured good government to the people. W. H. Sleeman's "Diary of a Journey Througn Oudh" (1851) painted a vivid picture of disorder and chronic misrule.

14. Wood to Dalhousie 24 Jan., 8 Feb., 8 Mar. 1854; WP.LB IV.

15. Dalhousie to Wood 18 Mar. 1854, DP 63.

16. Major-General James Outram: Chief Commissioner, Oudh, 1856.

17. For details see Parliamentary Papers (shortened henceforth to PP) 1856, Vol. XLV.

18. Dalhousie to Oliphant 18 May 1855, to Macnaghten 18 June 1855, DP 69; to Vernon Smith 18 May, 18 June 1855, DP 64.

19. For details, see PP *ibid.*

ensure good government, while the Company had fulfilled their part of the Treaty. But out of regard to the Nawab's fidelity, Dalhousie rejected the extreme measure of annexation and wished to permanently assume the whole civil and military administration, retaining the royal title and position. The Nawab would be invited to accept the proposed Draft Treaty and he might refuse it only at the risk of facing anarchy on the removal of the Company's troops and Residency from Lucknow.

Transmitting this Minute, Dalhousie urged his masters in London to lose no time in authorising him to act, for the Nawab's deteriorating health might aggravate the evil 'a thousandfold' by necessitating the long minority of his young son, during which the Company could not interfere. He thought the case was clear enough for decision along his lines, which would place the Company honourably before the world.[20] To put it through, Dalhousie was willing to stay upto 1 March 1856, commenced 'quiet' preparations for the work, and despaired at the delay in decision at home.[21] When Smith,[22] the Board's new President, informed him that his plan, which approximated to annexation, would excite hostility from some 'active' parties in England (referring to the Radicals), Dalhousie retorted that it would be more difficult to defend in Parliament a policy of inaction than one of interference in Oudh and expressed surprise at the President's doubts on 'this moment' being chosen for interference.[23] The Governor-General lost all hope when he learned that an immediate decision could not be promised as the Oudh issue 'must' be brought before the Cabinet.[24]

20. Governor-General to Court of Directors, Foreign No. 4, 3 July 1855; Dalhousie to Wood 16 Dec. 1854, DP 63; to V. Smith and E. Macnaghten 28 June 1855, DP 64, 69.

21. Dalhousie to Smith 4 July, 8 Aug., 22 Oct. 1855, DP 64; to Macnaghten 18 June, 17 July, 8 Aug., 7 Sept., 8, 22 Oct. 1855, DP 69.

22. Robert Vernon Smith, Baron Lyveden: MP 1829-59; President, India Board, 1855-8.

23. Smith to Dalhousie 9 Aug., 7 Sept., 8 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Aug. 1855, DP 66; Dalhousie to Smith 22 Sept., 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64.

24. Dalhousie to Macnaghten 8 Dec. 1855, DP 69; to Smith 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64; Smith to Dalhousie 9 Oct., 8 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Oct., 1855, DP 66.

Meanwhile, Chairman Macnaghten[25] was sure of support for Dalhousie's recommendations from a large majority of the Court. The celebrated John Stuart Mill, who as an Assistant in the Examiner's Department at the East India House prepared Political Despatches, 'greatly approved' of Dalhousie's minute. Macnaghten's first impressions were generally favourable to Dalhousie's views and Draft Treaty.[26] Without awaiting receipt of the minutes of Dalhousie's Councillors, a 'Previous Communication' was prepared accordingly.[27] Accepting the view that interference was justified by the Nawab's utter disregard of Treaty obligations, the 'Previous Communication' generally conformed to Dalhousie's proposed remedy and the mode of enforcing it; except that it enjoined guarded application of Art. 5 (regarding adequate provision for the royal persons) lest there should arise a large class of dissolute stipendiaries. The 'Previous Communication' had some opponents in the Court of Directors.[28] Prinsep[29] opposed giving the Nawab an alternative and proposed to take over Oudh at once.[30] But before anything further occurred, the 'Previous Communication' was withdrawn from the India Board. Macnaghten had received the minutes of Dalhousie's Councillors,[31] whose views he considered 'least open to objection'.[32]

25. Elliot Macnaghten: Director, E.I. Company, 1842-3, 1845-8, 1850-8; Chairman, 1855.

26. Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10, 27 Aug. 1855, DP 66.

27. Pre-Com. No. 9492 A received at India Board 8 Sept. 1855; Pre-Coms. and Drafts, Vol. 3 of 1855.

According to the 1784 Act, any despatch submitted by the Court to the Board had to be returned within 2 weeks (extended to 2 months by the 1813 Act). This period was soon found inadequate and Henry Dundas initiated a system whereby the 'Chairs' first forwarded to the Board an unofficial draft in 'Previous Communication'. The 'Previous Communication' entered upon the official stage after it had been examined by the Board; then it was shaped into a draft at the Court. For details, see C. H. Philips, The East India Company (Manchester, 1961), Chap. I.

28. Sykes to Dalhousie, 26 Nov. 1855 (marked 'Confidential'), DP 66.

29. Henry Thoby Prinsep: ICS: Director, E.I. Company, 1850-1. 1853-8; had been member of the Supreme Council, 1835-43.

30. Prinsep's Oudh Memo. 24 Sept. 1855; Pre-Coms. and Drafts, *ibid.*

31. Minutes enclosed with Foreign Despatch to Court of Directors, No. 50 of 22 Aug. 1855.

32. Macnaghten to Dalhousie 10 Oct. 1855, DP 66.

Dalhousie and his Councillors were agreed that the Government should act at once and permanently take the country: controversy centred on whether the end would be reached by a 'direct' road.[33] The Councillors thought the Nawab should not be offered the alternative of going on without the British soldiery and Residency. Alexander Dorin sought justification for this step in the British rights of Paramountcy, Peter Grant in the 'nominally sovereign' character of the Oudh dynasty, and Barnes Peacock in the Law of Nations which enabled an aggrieved party to a treaty to secure whatever remedy was thought sufficient; and John Low generally concurred with Grant.[34] Regarding the Kingly title and rank Dorin advocated abolition, Grant and Low would maintain them during the present Nawab's lifetime, and Peacock conditioned retention on the King's willing acceptance of the treaty.

Influenced by these opinions and those of two or three Bengal members of the Court of Directors,[35] Macnaghten drafted another 'Previous Communication', offering no alternative to the Nawab but to accept the new position, and limiting the royal title to the present King's lifetime.[36] This radical solution had more opponents in the Court than the first 'Previous Communication', including the the Oudh question, Mountstuart Elphinstone,[40] now in retirement in Nawab and 'annexing' the country and without whose signature it went to the Board.[38] President Smith inclined to the more straightforward and direct method when once interference was decided upon but, doubting whether extreme measures would be sanctioned by a strong majority of the Court, returned the 'Previous Communication' privately without expressing an opinion.[39]

33. Dalhousie to V. Smith 22 Dec. 1855, DP 64.

34. Minutes by J. A. Dorin (11 July 1855), J. P. Grant (7 Aug.), B. Peacock (22 Aug.), and Maj.-Gen. J. Low (21 July, 18 Aug.); PP 1856, Vol. XLV.

35. Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, DP 66. ,

36. Pre-Com. 9492 B received at India Board on 13 Oct. 1855 (see paragraph, 14-16, 18, 19).

37. William Henry Sykes: Director, E.I. Company, 1840-2, 1844-7, 1849-52, 1854-8; Chairman, 1856; MP 1857-72.

38. Syes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855; DP 66.

39. Smith to Dalhousie 8, 22 Nov. 1855, DP 58; Pre-Com. returned unaltered to Court on 10 Nov. 1855.

While the London Government were in a state of indecision on the Oudh question, Mountstuart Elphinstone,[40] now in retirement in England, expressed the view that despite British right to dictate a new engagement enforcing the broken article, it would be consistent with liberality and justice to offer an alternative to the Nawab and face the little risk it involved. He propounded the 'liberal' belief that such an experiment had better be made to see how the people reacted to the withdrawal of British protection. Elphinstone thought that, without the presence of British troops in Protected Indian States, extreme oppression would be checked either by revolt or by dread of such a catastrophe on the part of the ruling Power.[41] Probably influenced by Elphinstone's letter, Macnaghten fell back upon the first 'Previous Communication' and formulated a Draft, offering the alternative only if the Nawab seemed certain to accept the proposed Treaty. Otherwise, the government should be assumed authoritatively leaving details of arrangement to the Governor–General.[42] A paragraph, preserving the royal title to the present sovereign only, raised opposition and was withdrawn. In Committee, some thought it went too far, some not far enough, and others considered the Despatch ill-timed.[43] However, it struggled through and passed a Special and Secret Court after five hours' discussion.[44]

The Board proposed to omit the passage reserving opinion on Dorin's and Grant's doctrines concerning unlimited rights of British interference in Oudh, and to insert the words regarding the royal title which had been omitted at the insistence of those who would not abolish the title prospectively.[45] The Court argued

40. Left his mark as Governor of Bombay (1819-27) by preparing a complete lawcode and founding a system of public education; author of 'The History of India' (1841).

41. Letter dated 1 Nov. 1855, enclosed in M. Elphinstone to J. Melvill 5 Nov. 1855. The letter and enclosure were sent to Dalhousie as enclosures in Macnaghten to Dalhousie, 9, 10 Nov. 1855, DP 66.

42. Draft No. 1105, based on Pre-Coms. 9492 A and B.

43. Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, DP 66.

44. The Political and Military Committee approved it on 14 Nov. 1855 (Despatches to India, Original Drafts, Vol. 94) and the Court discussed it from 14-16 November (Court Minutes, Vol. 186).

45. See "Paper sent privately to Mr. Mill, of alterations intended by the President", Pre-Coms. and Drafts, Vol. 3 of 1855.

that with these two alterations the Draft would not be signed by several leading Directors, who with difficulty had been reconciled to omitting a direct disclaimer of the Dorin-Grant doctrines.[46] The Board submitted[47] and the Despatch, with their minor modifications, passed the Court.[48]

Smith considered despatch a fair solution under the circumstances, but that the 'purity' of British motives in annexation must be justified by the future. Sykes, who thought it impolitic to break down the Indian Princes and gentry, had assented merely on humanitarian considerations and in the hope that Dalhousie's judgment would secure for the Nawab a position like that of the Raja of Mysore.[49] Two members of the Court of Directors recorded strong dissent.[50] Henry Willock[51] opposed interference, which was immoral in view of the long-enduring loyalty of the Nawab's dynasty and because misgovernment had not been such as to induce people to migrate to British India. John Shepherd[52] resented the 'ominous' silence on continuation of the royal title after the present-holder, and the assertion of the right to dictate terms to Indian Chiefs on ground of Paramountcy. In the Company's Court of Proprietors, two motions were brought forward, one condemning the annexation as the worst example of Indian spoliation and an act of basest ingratitude,[53] the other calling for restoration of the old dynasty.[54] It appears therefore that, while the authorities in London had sanctioned the

46. J. S. Mill to T. N. Waterfield 20 Nov. 1855, *ibid.*

47. W. Leach to J. Melvill 21 Nov. 1855, Letters from the Board of Control to the Court of Directors, Vol. 18.

48. Political Despatch to India No. 33 of 21 Nov. 1855.

49. V. Smith to Dalhousie 22 Nov. 8 Dec. 1855, DP 58; Sykes to Dalhousie 26 Nov. 1855, to Canning 20 Nov. 1855, DP 66; Sykes to Canning 10 Sept. 1856, CP 3.

50. Dissents by Willock and Shepherd, 17 and 21 Nov. 1855 (Appendix to Court Minutes, Vol. 10, pp. 241-56.

51. Director, E.I. Company, 1838-42, 1844-7, 1849-52, 1854-8; Chairman, 1845.

52. Director, E.I. Company, 1835-6, 1838-41, 1843-6, 1848-51, 1853-8; Chairman, 1844, 1850-1.

53. The motion was submitted at the Court of Proprietors on 24 Sept. 1856 and, after some debate, passed in the negative (General Court Minutes, Vol. 19).

54. The motion was submitted at the Court of Proprietors on 24 Mar. and 30 June 1858. But for lack of a quorum, the Court adjourned (*ibid*).

Calcutta Government's proposal after deliberations, the Oudh Despatch failed to obtain the desired unanimity. This was because, Calcutta Government's proposal after long deliberations, the Oudh question, and the Court of Directors were divided between Pro-Princely interests and men who belonged to the school of the 'strong hand' in dealings with Indian Chiefs and gentlemen.

Anyway, Dalhousie was at last happy at the large discretion given him in the matter and the 'very liberal' confidence implied thereby.[55] The Nawab refused voluntary acceptance of the treaty offered by Outram and annexation was proclaimed. The price of refusal was discontinuance of the royal title after Wazir.[56] On his own and without reference to London, Dalhousie recommended the introduction of the well-tried village system of land-settlement in Oudh.[57]

It is clear, therefore, that from a variety of motives, Dalhousie himself initiated the Oudh policy and that the home Indian authorities merely supported the Calcutta Government's proposal in 1855 after they had scotched the earlier one of 1853; and the above survey will tell that even the decision of 1855 was reached after many a debate and dispute.

55. Dalhousie to Smith and Macnaghten 8 Jan. 1856, DP 64; to Sykes 8 Jan. 1856, DP 69.

56. Dalhousie to Macnaghten 23 Jan. 8 Feb. 1856; to Smith 8 Feb. 1856; to Harris 21 Feb. 1856, DP 117.

57. Letter of Edmonstone, Secretary to the Govt. of India, to J. Outram, Chief Commissioner in Oudh, 4 Feb. 1856, DP 1856 XLV. Dalhousie recommended a summary settlement for three years with the parties in actual possession; and it was left to Canning to implement it.

Note: Besides the Dalhousie and Hickleton Papers, the private manuscript sources utilised in this study include the Wood Collection (preserved in the India Office Library, London) and the Canning Papers, introduced here as CP (these are kept in the Central Library, Leeds). The official manuscripts, used in this paper, are available in the India Office Library, London.

Organisation of Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient Bengal and Bihar

BY

PUSHPA NIYOGI

There is interesting scope for the study of the economy and internal organisation of the Buddhist monasteries, built in ancient Bengal and Bihar, in different periods. An attempt is being made in the following pages to assess the relevant, though scattered, data in investigating the nature of the resources and equipment of these institutions as effective centres of religion and education.

Resources: land-grants and other gifts:

Fa-hien in the 5th century A.D. noticed the prosperous condition of the monasteries in Indian territories, their 'considerable real property and assets held by them.' He adds that 'the king of these countries, the chief men and householders, have raised vihāras for the priests, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses and gardens with men and oxen'. These grants were lawfully embodied, as mentioned by Fa-hien in title-deeds which 'were prepared and handed down from one reign to another'; 'no one', he says, 'has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption'.[1] Fa-hien clearly states that this was, in fact, the general custom all over India—'in all places this is the case'.[2]

Less than three centuries later, I-tsing visited some of the monasteries of Northern India and reported that 'the Indian monasteries possess special allotments of land'.[3] About the monastery of Nālandā in particular, I-tsing states: 'The land in its possession contains more than two hundred villages. They have been bestowed upon the monastery by kings of many generations'.[4]

1. *Si-yu-ki*, xxxviii; Legge, 43.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Takakusu*, 193.
4. *Takakusu*, 65. In the 13th century A.D. the Nālandā monastery was financially helped by king Buddhasena of Bodh-Gaya and a rich lay Brāhmaṇa named Jayadeva—*Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, xx.

It is interesting to note that Nālandā has yielded some seals, to be discussed later,[5] which give the names of some villages—which may have been included in the estate referred to by I-tsing. Similar information about monastic properties is also obtainable from the testimony of Hwui-li. He says that 'the king of the country respects and honours the priests' and refers to the remission of the revenue of about hundred villages in favour of the convent. He further speaks of private donations received daily from two hundred householders in these villages, the total amounting to several hundred *piculs* (1 *picul* = 133½ lbs.) of ordinary rice together with several hundred *catties* (1 catty = 160 lbs.) of butter and milk.[6]

Feeding of priests was regarded as a sacred duty as Hiuen-tsang says. Thus the king of 'Central India' undertook to provide food for 'forty priests of the congregation everyday' in grateful memory of the founder of the Nālandā saṅgharama'.[7] In fact there could be no stable foundation for a monastery without permanent endowments. We learn from a Chinese account that a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta, identified by some with the founder of the Gupta family, built a temple for Chinese priests in Bengal and for its maintenance endowed it with the revenue of about twenty villages. This monastery was intended to encourage Buddhist studies by foreign scholars.[8]

Hiuen-tsang records an interesting story about Śīlabhadra. He is described as a member of the royal family of Samataṭa, who received the gift of a city from its king (i.e. the assignment of the revenue derived from it) as a reward for his success in a religious controversy with a renowned scholar from the south, in which he took part as a pupil of Dharmapāla. He is said to have built a vast and magnificient monastery near the Guṇamati monastery, out of the gift.[9] There are differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of the implication of the statement : .... "endowed it with the revenues of the town .... " which occurs in this context. Julien understood it to mean 'that Śīlabhadra gave the inhabitants

5. See section under heading—Seals and metallic tokens.
6. *Life*, 112-3.
7. *Beal, Travels*, III. 384—5; cf, *Watters*, II, 165; *Si-yu-ki*, II, 170.
8. *Si-yu-ki*, intro. x.
9. Watters, II, 110; *Si-yu-ki*, II, 110; *Beal*, III, 340-342.

of this city as slaves to his monastery'.[10] This view does not appear to be plausible. Watters interprets it as 'the revenue derived from the city'.[11] Beal interprets the passage differently. He states: 'Of the houses of the town, I understand it to mean the revenues of the Saṅghārāma were derived from the rentals of the place, not that the people or the inhabitants were bound to the service of the priests'.[12] It may be presumed that the monastery built by Śīlabhadra was maintained out of the income derived from the city in some form or other, which the king had originally transferred to him.

Epigraphic evidence is available regarding grants of lands in favour of Buddhist monasteries and establishments, the income from which was earmarked for meeting the cost of daily worship with fruits, flowers, incense and lamps, including the expenses of their clothes, medicines, etc. reading and copying of manuscripts, upkeep of the monastery and 'for various comforts of the revered bhikṣus', etc. Here a few details regarding allotments of lands may be given in brief. Thus the Jagadishpur copper plate grant of the year 128 (= 447-48 A.D.) records a small gift of land jointly by two individuals in favour of a Buddhist vihāra at Gulmagandhika in North Bengal (Bangaladeśa).[13] The Gunaighar grant of Vainyagupta[14] records the gift of 11 *pāṭakas* of land to the Āśrama-vīhara to be used for such purposes as have been specified above. The Ashrafpur plate (No. A) records a grant by the king Devakhaḍga of 9 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* of land. Plate No. B records a gift by prince Rājarāja consisting of 6 *pāṭakas* and 10 *droṇas* of land to the monastery of Saṅghamitra.[15] The Rātas of Samataṭa, as known from the Kailan inscription of king Śrīdharaṇa, granted 4½ *pāṭakas* of land for the *Āryasaṅgha* (Buddhist monks).[16] The copper plate of king Bhavadeva issued from Devaparvata records the grant of 7½ *pāṭakas* of land in favour of the Ratnatraya of Vendamati-vihārina which seems to have named after the locality

10. *Watters*, II, 110.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Beal, III 342 n59.
13. *JVRM*, I, No. 1, 1972, 23-37.
14. *IHQ*, VI, 1930, 55 ff.
15. *MASI*, I, 85 ff.
16. *IHQ*, XXIII, 1947, 221 ff.

in which it was situated. This land was granted together with the *uḍranga.*[17] The Nālandā copper plate of the reign of king Devapāla records the assignment of revenue from five villages in favour of the monastery built at Nālandā by Balaputradeva, king of Sumatra, for the maintenance of monks and the copying of manuscripts.[18] The Buddhist monastery in the village Beakhaṇḍa at Pattikera was given 20 *dronas* of land, as recorded in the copper plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva.[19]

The evidence cited above from other sources seem to support Fa-hien's picture of the prosperity of Buddhist monasteries. The resident monks were free from any pecuniary worries specially because they also received additional gifts of all sorts from the people. Everywhere the resident priests had their chambers furnished with beds, mattresses and were liberally provided with food, drink, clothes.[20] From Fa-hien we learn that when the priests received their normal dues from their monasteries, these were supplemented by offerings made by prominent persons as well as individual householders including Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to note that priests also presented gifts to one another.[21] Hiuen-tsang in his account of Nālandā says that they were so abundantly supplied with clothes, food, bedding, medicines, etc. that they needed no further help. In the opinion of this pilgrim they were thus generously helped to promote the cause of learning to which they were devoted.[22] Monasteries also contained gardens in which fruits and flowers required for their every-day use were grown. Sometimes gifts of a special nature were made in favour of monks. Thus the Nālandā stone inscription of the reign of Yaśovarmadeva records that the son of his minister, Mālāda came to Nālandā, made some offerings to the resident monks and donated for their use an abode (*layana*) on the bank of the stream.[23] From the account of

17. *JAS,* XVII, 1951, 89 ff.
18. *EI,* XVII, 310 ff.
19. *IHQ,* IX, 222 ff.
20. *Si-yu-ki,* xxxviii.
21. *Ibid,* xxxix.
22. *Life,* 112.
23. *EI,* XX, 237-46; Mālāda gave to the Assembly of monks every day ghee, curd and rice with various preparations also pure and fragrant perfumed water as well as a shining lamp, in addition to the *layana.*

Dharmasvāmin we learn that a rich man named Jayadeva 'erected a seat adorned with precious stones which had a curtain called *sa-ha-li'* for protection against mosquitoes. Dharmasvāmin says that most of the wealthy people were obliged to honour Buddha in a similar manner.[24]

In this way monasteries came to own land, villages, pasturage, cattle, etc. for the maintenance of their resident bhikṣus. Big monasteries with their own property of various kinds were able not only to attain self-sufficiency but were also in a position to extend their power and influence in their respective localities.

Monastic property—land and its cultivation:

The landed property of the Saṅgha was held on a collective basis. No question of individual ownership was involved. According to the Vinaya Piṭaka tilling was prohibited for a Buddhist monk personally for his own sake, but he was allowed to till for the saṅgha. A share of the product was to be reserved for the monastic servants and other employees including their families by whom the land was actually tilled. The produce of the land was to be divided into six parts, of which one was to be levied by the saṅgha. The saṅgha must provide the bulls, and the land to be tilled. The saṅgha had no other responsibility. Sometimes the rate of distribution was to be modified according to the seasons.[25]

It appears that this system of tilling of the soil and distribution of shares of the produce, meant for the intermediaries, did not always give satisfactory results, due to greed and dishonesty. Hence the responsibility was taken up by the priests themselves who got everything done through their own employees, male and female.[26]

While describing the activities of the Bha-ra-ha monastery I-tsing[27] gives some details about monastic property. He noticed some tenants waiting in a compound outside the monastery dividing vegetables into three portions, one of which was being presented

24. *Biography of Dharmaśvāmin*, 90-91.
25. Cf., *Takakusu*, 61.
26. *Ibid*, 61.
27. *Ibid.*, 62.

to the priests and the remaining two-thirds kept apart for themselves. I-tsing. unable to understand what all this meant, asked Mahāyāna Pradīpa to explain it. He replied that according to their sacred doctrine, which they strictly followed, Buddhist priests were not allowed to cultivate land themselves. Hence they had to arrange for its cultivation by others who got two-third of the produce as their lawful share. It is to be noted that there is a discrepancy in his accounts with regard to the share of the priests. The priests who supplied bulls, got one-sixth, while those of the monastery situated in Tāmralipta, which is specially mentioned, got one-third, which is higher than the former rate. It may be assumed that the Tāmralipta organisation also supplied bulls required for cultivation. It is not unlikely that out of what they got from the actual tiller, some portions had to be set apart for the domestic servants of the monastery also. Rates may have varied in different localities.

Free supply of garments, etc.:

It is understood from the above that food and lodging were provided to the monks of the monastery to which they belonged. Besides, as we learn from I-tsing, clothing of a Bhikṣu was also supplied out of the common funds. Provision for clothing was made out of the 'special allotments of lands'[28] and out of the yielding from the farms and gardens and the 'profits arising out of the fruits and trees, which were distributed annually in shares to cover the expenditure involved. The monastery was to provide every resident priest his garment and bed-clothes out of its own funds. The distribution was to be made on a basis of equality and the distributed articles were not to be regarded as owned individually. It appears that they were for personal use only.[29]

Cells for accommodation:

Excavations have brought to light ruins of some monasteries, from which a fair idea about the plan of their construction can be formed. There were cells, specially made in a monastery (vihāra)

28. *Takakusu*, 193-94.
29. *Ibid.*, 193-194.

for the accommodation of the monks. At Nālandā there were at least 300 such apartments;[30] at Somapura 177[31] and at Salbanrāja's Palace 120.[32] From the account of the Nālandā monastery it appears to have been designed and constructed on a magnificent scale with an eye to the comfort of its inmates. Here the cells are fairly spacious, containing broad stone beds.[33] Sometimes extra beds were provided for use as store-rooms where inmates kept their personal belongings and books. At Paharpur, as excavations show, the cells were usually rectangular in shape but with no beds. Here some of the cells had ornamented pedestals and altars.[34] In the Salbanrāja's Palace, which is regarded by some as representing the ruins of a Buddhist monastery, 120 cells have been unearthed, the largest one measuring 16½ feet by 10½ feet. The walls separating the individual cells are 5½ feet thick. The cells had fire places; some had brick platforms; most of the cells contained 'corbelled niches which were used by the monks for keeping images of the Buddha and oil lamps. In one cell a large bronze image of seated Padmapāṇi on a lotus throne was found.' These apartments no doubt gave the monks the needed privacy, although they led a monastic life, to pursue their studies and perform their religious practices undisturbed. There are indications that lamps and candles were used by the monks for the purpose of study at night in their cells.[35]. The ruins of monastic buildings, so far brought to light, seem to show some space for bath-rooms in their plan. At Somapura a channel of water was noticed along the wall on the eastern side. Some are of the opinion that this was reserved for use as latrines here[36] Of course, attached to most of the monasteries, we find evidence of pools or tanks, which were used for bathing, washing, etc. I-tsing noticed at Nālandā ten great pools. He says that aghaṇṭā or bell is sounded every morning to announce the bathing time and that 'sometimes a hundred, sometimes even a thousand

30. *Takakusu*, 154.
31. *MASI*, No. 55, Chapter III.
32. Khan, *Mainamati*, 1 ff; *ABIA*, XVI, LII.
33. Measuring 6 feet 9 inches.
34. *MASI*, No. 55, 6 ff.
35. *ABIA*, XVI, 1948-1953, LII-LIII.
36. *MASI*, No. 55; cf, Dutt, 372.

(priests) leave the monastery together, and proceed in all directions towards the pools where all of them take a bath'.[37]

Arrangements also existed within the monasteries for laundry works. At Nālandā, could be seen a number of cells with water-reservoirs and slabs of stones for washing clothes.

Kitchen:

Inside monasteries there were arrangements for the preparation of daily meals of the resident monks according to their requirements. Such arrangements must have been on a proportionately large scale in big monasteries. Some information on this subject is given by I-tsing: 'What we call a monastery is a general designation for the place of residence (for the saṅgha), the whole of which may be regarded as a monastic kitchen. In every apartment raw and cooked food may be kept, ... moreover the keeping of provisions in the monastery is allowable (according to the Vinaya). The traditional custom of India is to consecrate the whole monastery as a 'kitchen', but to take a part of it to be used as a kitchen is also allowed by the Buddha ...'[38] Unlike Hiuen-tsang. I-tsing describes the sacred abode of the monks as a 'kitchen' which is rather curious .... Excavated ruins show a few ovens, scattered about in Nālandā. At Somapura, a kitchen and a dining hall are noticed. Here some broken utensils and rice have also been found. Earlier authorities did not mention anything about the nature of drink the monks were permitted to take but Dharmasvāmin explicitly states that the Buddhist monks were not permitted to take wine but they were allowed to take 'the juice of pomegranates'.[39]

Worship-congregational and individual:

Some monasteries had halls specially built for congregational worship. There were such an assembly halls at the Oḍantapurī vihāra, the Somapura vihāra, etc. The Vikramaśīla monastery had its own arrangements for the performance of congregational worship. From the writing of Brom-ton we learn that Nag-tsho

37. *Takakusu*, 108-109.
38. *Ibid.*, 84.
39. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, xxvi.

Lochāva, the Tibetan scholar, first met Dīpaṃkara at the morning congregation. There were rows of seats, occupied by the monks at the congregational meeting, where he says, Atīśa came 'in all his glory'.[40] Such meetings could not possibly be held at Nālandā monastery where the number of priests, was more than 3,000 who could not be accommodated in one hall for prayer. This monastery had 300 apartments and 8 halls. The prayer, the ritual and the worship took place separately according to the convenience of the monks concerned. The precentor used to go round from place to place chanting hymns, preceded by monastic lay servants and children carrying with them incense and flowers ....'. He had to move from one hall to another, 'he chants the service, every time three or five ślokes in a high tone, and the sound is heard all around. At twilight he finishes his duty ....'[41] Thus the Precentor at the Nālandā monastery had indeed a very heavy assignment of duty every day. As arrangement could not be made for accommodating so many priests in one place, congregational worship was largely replaced specially at Nālandā, by private worship performed by the monks in their own cells.

Seals and metallic tokens:

Some renowned monasteries are known to have issued their own seals and even coins. Those issued by one particular monastery not only served their purpose within their jurisdiction but had some use in other areas also which had any relation with it. The discovery of such token outside the localities which issued them seems in certain cases to support this view. The right to issue seals and coins, which obviously had legal utility, was a concession to their organisational and economic status.

Some monasteries in Bengal are also found to have enjoyed the right to issue coins and seals bearing authentic marks of their identity in legends inscribed on them. Silver coins have been discovered at the Mainamati site with the legend '*Paṭikērya*' with couchant humped bull on the obverse and garlands hanging

40. Cf, Dutt, S., *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, 368.
41. *Takakusu*, 154-156.

from it on the reverse which are supposed to have been the symbolic issue of the Paṭṭikeraka monastery.[42]

The ruins of the Raktamrittika-saṅghārāma include numerous inscribed terracotta seals and sealings. These were made of clay paste of different sizes. Some of the sealings discovered here bear both devices and legends. Some show a Dharmacakra flanked by two antelopes with a legend in two lines:

Line 1. — Śrī — Rakta(m)rittika ma (ma) hāvaiha
Line 2. — rik — ārya — bhikshu (saṅgha)s(y)a ....[43]

The legend, if it has been correctly read, describes such seals as the issue of the community of noble monks of the great monastery at Raktamrttika. Such seals were also issued from the Somapur vihāra, representing a Dharmacakra, flanked by a deer on each side in the upper and the name of the corporation in the lower level with the legend Śrī Dharmapāladeva — Mahāvihāriya — Ārya — Bhikṣu — Saṅgha, associating such tokens with the community of the Buddhist monks belonging to the great monastery, known as Dharmapāladeva Mahāvihāra.[44] Seals belonging to the Nālandā monastery with the same device and the legend Śrī — Nālandā — Mahāvihāriya — Ārya — Bhikṣusaṁghasya ...[45] have been found at Nālandā. It may also be noted that there were some seals found at Nālandā, which are of a different kind. Such seals give in their legends names of villages, such as Padapag, Udumbaraka, Aṁkotthasattā, Sē(vattha)lika-grāma, Nandana-grāma, Dvitrā-grāma, etc.[46] According to Hirananda Sastri[47] the villages mentioned in the legend possibly maintained a separate establishment at Nālandā which had its own seals as its tokens. Those villages which have been named in the seals undoubtedly belonged to the Nālandā University. They were important enough to be recognised as competent to have seals of their own for use at Nālandā. But details about their exact economic liabilities and administrative apparatus are not known. The fact

42. *B. C. Law Volume*, II, 217; cf, Phayre, *Coins of Arakan, Pegu and Burma*, plate II, fig. 21.
43. Das, S. C. *Rajbadidanga*.
44. *MASI*, No. 55, plate LIX (h).
46. *MASI*, No. 66.
47. *Ibid*, 41 ff.

that Somapura seals have been discovered at Nālandā and Nālandā seals at Somapura is a significant one. Thus seals bear the names of Dharmasena and Siṁhasena who may have been two officers in charge of the Mahavihārays in the Pāla dominion, during the rule of the early Pāla kings, viz., Dharmapāla and Devapāla.[48]

Inmates:

Some of the monasteries accommodated a large number of monks. Regarding the Nālandā monastery, for instance, we have the evidence of Hiuen-tsang who puts the number of inmates at 10,000.[49] But I-tsing who came later puts the number 'upwards of 3,000 in his Record and 3,500 in his Memoirs'.[50] In the 13th century A.D. when Dharmasvāmin visited Nālandā there were only 70 monks and 5 teachers residing there.[51] The inmates of the Odanapurī vihāra was, according to a Tibetan source, 12,000.[52] But towards the end of the 11th century A.D. when Nag-tsho was in India, he saw the decline of this monastery and in his 'Stotra of Eighty Ślokes' mentioned 'Odantapura with its fifty-three monks'.[53] During the reign of Rāmapāla, in the 11th-12th century A.D., there were 160 Professors and 1,000 resident monks at Vikramaśila.[54] The number of monks dwindled to 100 during the last days when the Muslim raids were going on.[55] The Po-chi-po saṅghārāma accommodated 700 priests in the time of Hiuen-tsang.[56]

Enrolment Register:

Enrolment registers were kept in all monasteries, big or small, probably to maintain official records of its resident monks, in which the names were registered as the reference to the Bha-

48. *EI*, XXI, 97-101.
49. *Life*, 112.
50. *Takakusu*, 154 n.
51. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, 90.
52. *BA*, II, 1031.
53. *Ibid*, I, 243 n 2.
54. *Pag-sam-jon-zang*, ed. by S. C. Das, 130.
55. *BA*, I, 243 n 2.
56. *Si-yu-ki*, II, 195.

raha monastery at Tamrālipti (West Bengal) shows. In this monastery separate arrangements were made for the admission of monks and laymen. I-tsing states that when a new priest arrived at the monastery he was treated for the first five days, by the Assembly, with choicest available food and allowed to rest for the same period. Afterwards he received common treatment. It is interesting to note that for a new entrant a system of probation obtained at this monasery which may have been a regular feature of the monastic organisation of the time. If he was found to be a man of good character, he was permitted to live with them, and was supplied with suitable bed-gear; if he was not learned, he was treated as an ordinary priest; if, highly learned he was assigned the best rooms and servants. When engaged in giving their daily lectures they were freed from other duties connected with the monastic organisation. They were privileged to ride on sedan-chairs but not on horse-back. Then his name was enrolled on the register together with the names of the resident priests. He thus came to enjoy similar influence as the other resident priests. If a layman expressed his desire to become a priest 'his motive was thoroughly enquired into'; if the result was satisfactory he was shaved and his name was written in the register-book of the Assembly. 'If he afterwards violated the laws and failed in his religious performances, he was expelled from the monastery without sounding the Ghaṇṭā' (bell) ....'.[57]

The rules of ordination observed at Nālandā monastery, as stated by I-tsing included the privilege given to a priest to choose his own guru (preceptor).

Admission:

Hiuen-tsang tells that there was a great rush for admission to the Nālandā university. Even students who did not belong to the University of Nālandā tried to pose as such.[58] Every possible effort was made to restrict admission. The admission test was most severe. 'If men of other quarters desire to enter and take part in the discussions', the Gate-keeper put some difficult questions which many were unable to answer and were therefore

57. *Takakusu*, 64-65.
58. *Si-yu-ki*, II, 170-71.

refused admission. Deep knowledge of both 'old and new tests' was one of the essential prerequisites of admission. Most candidates failed to satisfy the conditions relating to admission. Out of every ten candidates applying for admission only two or three succeeded.[59] On an average 20 or 30 per cent of candidates applying for admission succeeded, so that the high standard of this University could be maintained. The designation of the officer in charge of this 'screening examination' is '*men-che*' in Chinese.[60] The priests of this monastery had a dignity of their own and a great reputation for their discipline and respect for the sacred rules and regulations due to which, there was not a single case of guilty rebellion against the rules of this great establishment for seven centuries since its foundation.[61]

The Vikramaśīla monastery also had its 'Guardians of the Gates'. Their function was two-fold, viz. that of granting admission to students and holding controversies with teachers of other religious faiths. About the 10th century A.D. we hear of six Dvara-pālas including those in charge of the Mahāstambhas in the Vikramaśīla monastery.[62]

Courses of study:

We do not know whether there was a common prescribed course of study followed in the major Buddhist Universities of India. However, some stray information is available about the subjects taught at the Nālandā University mainly from Chinese accounts. It may be presumed that primary and secondary education were not imparted in the Universities. Students seeking admission to the Nālandā University were to be well grounded; therefore, they were comparatively senior in age. This is understood from the testimony of Hiuen-tsang, who states that a candidate for admission to a university faculty was to be one already acquainted with 'old and new books'.[63] We have also seen that the

59. *Ibid.*
60. Cf, Dutt, S., *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India*, 332.
61. *Life;* 112.
62. *Tāranātha*, chapter xxxiii. See below, under heading 'Teachers and Administrators'.
63. *Si-yu-ki*, II, 171.

admission test in some of the monastic Universities was very strict and difficult. Hwui-li[64] throws light on the nature and scope of higher education in a passage enumerating the branches of study taught at Nālandā. There were arrangements for the study of the Mahāyāna, the literature of the eighteen Hīnayāna sects as well as subjects like the Vedas and the other books, 'the Hetuvidyā (logic), Śabdavidyā (Grammar and Philology), Cikitsāvidyā (Medicine), the works on Magic (Atharvaveda), Sañkhya (system of Philosophy); besides these they throughly investigate the miscellaneous works (by which are probably meant works of literature and general knowledge). In the Vikramaśīla monastery also many subjects were taught, such as Theology, Philosophy, Logic, Tantra, Metaphysics (including Logic), etc.[65]

Sanskrit became the medium of instruction in liberal studies all over India.[66] Students after acquiring proficiency in the language had to learn composition in prose and verse, and later devoted themselves to Logic (Hetuvidyā) and Metaphysics (Abhidharma-koṣa), etc.

I-tsing[67] states that works on different subjects, as listed by him, had to be studied by both priests and laymen, as otherwise they could not distinguish themselves as '*Bakuśruta*' (i.e. proficient in various subjects). For a monk subjects of a secular character were included in the course which was not confined merely to the Vinaya texts but included the Sūtras and the Śāstras. Mahāyāna Philosophy was a compulsory subject at Nālandā. The importance of Mahāyāna is well stressed by V. Smith in his observation that 'a detailed history of Nālandā would be a history of Mahāyāna Buddhism'.[68] Its intensive study at Nālandā accounts for the notable contributions it made in the field of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Tibetan authorities refer to Nālandā as a centre of Tantric studies. Kamalaśīla was for sometime a Professor of Tantras at Nālandā.[69] From the Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla we learn

64. *Life*, 112.
65. *HIL*, 519-20.
66. *Takakusu*, 176-177.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *ERE*, IX, 'under Nālandā'.
69. *HIL*, 327

that 'Nālandā was the abode of bhikṣus and Bodhisattvas, well-versed in the Tantras'.[70] The *paṇḍits* of Nālandā are known to have written books on Tantras and Tantricism.[71] It appears that Astronomy was one of the subjects taught at Nālandā which was equipped with an astronomical observatory. Nālandā also had a water-clock i.e. clepsydra.[72] Nālandā recognised the importance of learned investigations carried out by its ex-students, incorporating them in its curriculam. Hwui-Li notes that after completing his education at Nālandā, Hiuen-tsang composed a book entitled Hwui-Tsung which was greatly appreciated by his beloved teacher Śīlabhadra and subsequently incorporated in its course of study.[73] Similarly the curriculam included outstanding works of prominent scholars like Nagarjuna, Dharmapāla, Śāntideva, Śāntirakṣita, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, etc.

Methods of teaching and study: discussions and debates.

In the Nālandā University 'The old and the young mutually help one another', which shows that students and teachers, irrespective of their age, co-operated together in a concrete manner in the pursuit of knowledge. I-tsing knew this to be a cardinal feature of the academic usage and life at Nālandā University, as can be understood from his statement, 'thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years, in the Nālandā monastery......'.[74] Besides, teachers used to deliver lectures everyday, which were punctually attended by students. The number of such lectures was about one hundred per day.[75] Every year there was a special session in which a learned discourse was given by a *paṇḍit,* of which the main interest lay in the refutation of the Śāstras, Purāṇas, etc. Besides discussions and debates were arranged here in which both teachers and students participated. Meetings where such discussions took place lasted

70. *EI*, XVII, 325.
71. *IHQ*, IX, 1933, 4.
72. *Takakusu*, 142-143; cf, *JRAS*, XIII (NS), 571: 'This is the only temple in which, by Imperial order, a water-clock is kept to determine the right time'.
73. *Life*, 158.
74. *Takakusu*, 177.
75. *Life*, 112.

from morning till night. Profound questions were raised and debated upon. Those unable to discuss questions out of the Tripitika were put to shame. Not only persons connected with the University took part in the discussions held, but also learned men from various cities came and attended them with a view to settle their own doubts and also to earn prominence amongst scholars. In this way, as Hiuen-tsang says, wisdom was not confined within the precincts of the University but diffused far and wide.[76] It appears that there was a constant urge for opposition of heretical views which had to be criticised and exposed even outside the University.[77] One of the main duties of the students of the Universities was to prepare manuscripts of texts.[78]

Daily routine of study:

The students of the Nālandā University had to follow certain rules regarding their daily routine and study. Thus, Hiuen-tsang read 'the Yoga-śāstra, three times; the Nyaya Anusara-śāstra, once; the Hin–hiang–tu–fa–ming, once; the Hetuvidyā and the Śabdavidyā and the tsah–liang–śāstra, twice; the Prāṇya–mūla–śāstra–tikā, and the Śata–śāstra, thrice'. This was followed by his attending lectures on the intricacies of Koṣa, Vibhaṣa and the Ṣatpadābhidharma. He next devoted himself to non–Buddhist studies.[79] Thus a convenient and fixed routine made it possible for the students to be instructed in several branches of study in the University according to their choice if the necessary teaching arrangement existed.

Specialisation:

Intensive study of the prescribed courses was an essential feature of the Nālandā discipline. This promoted specialisation. At the same time this could be combined with a broadening of interest in various allied subjects, taught in the university, as mentioned above. What the students learned in the different academic departments or 'Schools of Studies', affiliated to the

76. *Si-yu-ki*, II, 170.
77. *Takakusu*, 181.
78. Cf. Bendell, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts in the University Library*, Cambridge, 101; *JASB* (NS), IV, 105.
79. *Life*, 121.

University, was stimulated further through critical debates held in the 'Schools of Discussions'.[80] The Sumpa refers to the fifty-eight Saṁsthās of Vikrama-śīla.

Duration:

It seems that the minimum period of study at Nālandā or Valabhi was two or three years.[81] But surely a much longer period was required, as determined by the capacity of the individual student concerned and the range of the courses which he took up for study and specialisation. Hiuen-tsang stayed at Nālandā for six years (c. A.D. 629-635) and I-tsing studied there for ten years (A.D. 673-682).[82]

Library facilities:

An essential annexe of a teaching vihāra was its library. Academic activity of a vihāra depended on its library, which, in some recorded cases, attained a high reputation for the richness and variety of its collections of books and manuscripts, Buddhist and non-Buddhist. I-tsing, as mentioned above stayed at Nālandā for ten years and collected some four hundred Sanskrit texts comprising 500,000 ślokes.[83] The imposing library of Nālandā University was housed at a spot which was called 'Dharmagañga', a veritable 'mart' of Dharma. It comprised three buildings, viz. Ratnasāgara (Ocean of Jewels), Ratnodadhi (Sea of Jewels) and Ratnarañjaka (Jewel adorned). The second of these buildings was a nine-storyed one.[84] The Odantapurī monastery also had an impressive library. When the Muhammadans under Ikhtiyar Khilji (son of Bakhtyar Khilji) occupied Odantapurī, the vihāra was found to comprise large collections of books, which accounted for the fame of the city as a great centre of learning.[85] The Vikramaśīla monastery must have acquired a large collection of rare books on Tantra, Grammar, Metaphysics and Logic, in which the Tibetans

80. *Si-yu-ki,* II, 170.
81. *Takakusu,* 177.
82. *Ibid,* xxxiii.
83. *Ibid,* xxxiii.
84. See, S. C. Das's *Pag-sam-jon-zang,* 92; *HIL,* 516.
85. Elliot and Dawson's, *History of India as told by its own Historians,* II, 306.

took a great interest.[86] The Tanjur and the Kanjur testify that a good number of Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan at the Vikramaśīla monastery.

Examinations and awards: Academic distinctions and Honours:

For want of definite information we cannot say whether there were any system of examination marking the end of an academic career, as is found in a modern University. But it may be supposed that it was for the teacher to certify whether a scholar under his pupilage had fulfilled his duties and completed his task. Scholar of the Vikramaśīla University, who distinguished themselves in their respective fields of study, were awarded the title of Paṇḍita' by royal patrons. Among the recipients of such honour mention may be made of Ācārya Jetari of Varendra and Ratnavajra of Kashmir. The walls of the Vikramaśīla monastery were decorated with pictures of such luminaries,[87]

Status of the learned monks.

Eminent scholars and teachers enjoyed a special prestige and privilege in the Universities to which they were attached. Thus in the Bha-ra-ha monastery in Tamrālipti the best rooms and servants were provided to learned monks. When engaged in giving their daily lectures they were freed from other duties connected with the monastic organisation. They were privileged to ride in Sedan chairs when going out and not on horse-back.[88] It was the custom generally to extend to distinguished visiting monks a hearty and cordial welcome. Thus when the people of Nālandā heard that Hiuen-tsang was coming to visit them, the University commissioned four influential men for his reception. After taking rest in the guest house, Hiuen-tsang proceeded to the Nālandā University premises with two hundred followers and one thousand lay patrons. The Nālandā authorities instructed their staff to see that everything they required was readily supplied to them, and to look after their comfort and convenience with the utmost care.[89] Leaving

86. *HIL*, 519-20.
87. *HIL*, Logic, 520.
88. *Takakusu*, 64; cf, 124-126.
89. *Life*, 106-109; cf, *Si-yu-ki*, xxxiii, Legge, 44.

the guest house, Hiuen-tsang met Śīlabhadra, who as desired by the pilgrim, gladly accepted him as his pupil. Afterwards he was taken, as arranged, to the college of Bālādityarāja (a four-storey building) where he resided with Buddhabhadra for seven days. Next he went to reside at a place situated to the north of the dewelling of Dharmapāla. During his stay here Hiuen-tsang was provided with daily offerings consisting of 120 *Jambiras,* 20 *pin-bong-tseng* (*puga* areca-nut), 20 *tau kau* (nutmegs), an ounce of camphor and a *ching* (*peek*) of Mahāśāli rice, an exceptional variety grown in Magadha only and exclusively reserved for kings and religious leaders of outstanding distinction. The pilgrim was also supplied with oil, butter and other necessaries.[90] It may be noted that the Chinese themselves were not surprised at the hospitality shown to Hiuen-tsang for they say that in the Nālandā convent 'a myriad priests' were entertained in the same fashion. Men hailing from every quarter were treated with the same courtesy in the course of their pilgrimage.[91] I-tsing states that a new priest on his arrival at the Bha-ra-ha monastery was allowed rest for the first five days and entertained with 'the best of their food' for this period, at the instance of the assembly.[92] Dharmasvāmin in the 13th century A.D. was honourably received by Rājā Buddhasena of Magadha at Nālandā and was provided by one Jayadeva with a bed and a curtain with a light and a fan installed in it.[92a] This was at a time when the glorious days of Buddhist institutions were already over.

Teachers and Administrators.

Eminent teachers were of the rank of Ācāryas. Among them some are known to have been head, of the University's administrations. During Hiuen-tsang's visit Ācārya Śīlabhadra performed both teaching and administrative duties. A list of such Ācāryas belonging to different periods is provided by the pilgrim. These at Nālandā were distinguished for their sage-like qualities and academic achievements, with no definite administrative functions assigned to them, including such names as Dharmapāla, Chandra-

90. *Ibid.*
91. *Life,* 110.
92. *Takakusu,* 64.
92a. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin,* 90.

pāla, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra, Jinamitra (known for his eloquence), Jñānachandra, Śigrabuddha and Śīlabhadra.[93] He refers to the importance of their work which spread the fame of the University abroad. I-tsing's contemporary at Nālanā was Ratnasiṁha. He speaks of him and a few other teachers conspicuous in the long history of Nālandā in highest terms. In his opinion, 'such persons in every generation only one or two appear. They are to be linked to the sun and moon'.[94] Among them were Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghoṣa of an early age; Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Saṅghabhadra, Bhavaviveka in the middle ages; and Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Simhakandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prajñāgupta, Gunaprabha, Ginaprabha (or Paramaprabha) of late years.[95]

It is noteworthy that he mentions amongst those celebrities Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra, etc. who are also referred to by Hiuen-tsang. Amongst the distinguished teachers of his time Gñānakanddra, a Master of Law, lived in the Tiladha Monastery in Magadha; Ratnasiṁha was in the Nālandā monastery; Dīvākaramitra in Eastern India; Tathāgatagarbha of the South. Śākyakīrti of Sumatra. In this connection he also refers to Nālandā of the 6th, 7th centuries A.D. as "a place filled with monks of different sects, where preaching and study continued without interruption....it was a self-refuge for preacher who wandered about the country."[96]

Subsequently as the glories of Nālandā diminished, some other universities rose and flourished. Tibetan scholars started visiting India when Vikramaśīla has become a prominent centre. Tāranātha gives an account of the succession of teachers at Vikramaśīla.[97] During the rule of the five successive kings starting from king Dharmapāla 'and till the period of Canaka', a number of great Tantric Vajrācāryas looked after the 'Law at Vikramaśīla' viz. (1) Buddhajñānapāda, (2) Dīpaṁkara, (3) Laṅkā-jayabhadra, (4) Śrīdhara, (5) Bhavabhadra, (6) Bhavyakīrti, (7)

93. *Si-yu-ki*, II, 171.
94. *Takakusu*, 181-2.
95. *Ibid*, 184-5.
96. *BA*, II, 1081-4.
97. Tāranātha, Chapter XXXVIII.

Lilāvajra, (8) Durjayacandra, (9) Kṛṣṇa-samayavajra, (10) Tathāgata-rakṣita, (11) Bodhibhadra and (12) Kamalarakṣita followed by many ācāryas of Tantra.

The most important information which we owe to Tāranātha is that all the great teachers except the first two, mentioned above, were administrative heads in different periods, each of them acting as the chief of the centre for twelve years. But the tenure of office of the first two is not mentioned in this connection. Kamalarakṣita, the last in the list, was followed by a group of six Gate-Keeper Scholars. Next to them came separately many ācāryas of Tantras.[98] .... He adds that 'there was no continuity in the succession of Upādhyāyas for some years, before Upādhyāya Dīpaṃkara-Śrī-jñāna. If the post of the Upādhyāya thus remained vacant for seven years this may have been due to the assurance said to have been given by Dīpaṃkara that he would return from his foreign mission after some time. At the end of the period the vacancy was filled in by Mahāvajrāsana who held the post for a short period, followed successively by Kamalakuliśa, Narendra-śrī-jñāna, Dānarakṣita. The next incumbent was the famous scholar Abhayākaragupta, who acted in this capacity for a long time. He was succeeded by Śubhākarāgupta. Next was Nayakapaśrī and after him Dharmākaraśantī who was succeeded by Śākyaśrī, the *paṇḍit* of Kashmir. With him the history of Vikramaśīla, as narrated by Tāranātha, came to an end.

Evidently he means that the post of the Upādhyāya in the University was one of teaching combined with administration. The Upādhyāya was not only the ablest available teacher but also the head of the institution.

There is some information of special interest about Dīpaṃkara which shows that royalty exercised its choice in the appointment of the religious functionaries of the highest grades. Thus, Dīpaṃkara was appointed the Chief High Priest by king Mahīpāla I. Later he was made the 'High Priest' by king Nayapāla. These two offices may have been different. While as the Chief High Priest he may have remained in complete charge of the priesthood of the Vikramaśīla monastery during Mahīpāla's reign, his duties as the High Priest during Nayapāla's reign were not

98. *Ibid.*

possibly identical. The reason for this change in the designation is not known.

The Sthavira's function in the University is not clearly shown. He was probably, as the expression indicates, the senior-most member of the staff and as such had some official duties. As mentioned in the account of Brom-ton, Dīpaṃkara had to seek the formal permission of the Sthavira Ratnākara and hand over charge to him before he left the Vikramaśīla monastery for Tibet.[99] The name of this Sthavira is given as Silakara in another account.[100]

The Elders of the Somapura monstery had lineage-names like '-garbha', 'mitra', 'nandin', 'bhadra', etc. which signified, as suggested by Dikshit, 'continuity of succession of monks' at Somapura vihāra.[101] From the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrśmitra[102] we come to know that Karunaśrīmitra died as a martyr when the Vaṅgala army marched to the Somapura monastery and set fire to it Karunaśrīmitra refused to leave his post and was burnt to death.

Later Vipulaśrīmitra gave his help in the work of restoration carried out at the monastery and adding new features to it. The Elders' function is not detailed but certainly it included the services directly attributed to Vipulaśrīmitra in the above inscription.

The Nālandā monastery had a 'Director' whose duty was to announce by beating a bell that permission had been granted to Hiuen-tsang to live in the monastery who was to be supplied with all essential things wanted by him for his personal and religious use. It was the seniormost monk at Nālandā who enjoyed the office of the Director. He was the custodian of the keys of the monastery. It appears that the Sthavira of the Vikramaśīla monastery and the 'Elders' of the Somapura monastery performed duties somewhat similar to those of the Director of the Nālanā monastery. I-tsing speaks of a priest in the Bha-ra-ha monastery

99. *Sumpa*, 185.
100. *BA*, I, 247.
101. Dikshit, *Paharpur*, 74.
102. *EI*, XXI, 97-101.

one of whose chief duties was to examine the water of the well used for drinking and other purposes. If there was no insect in it, the water was used but if there was a living insect, the water was filtered.[103]

From the Buddhist stone inscription from Ghosrawa, dated in the 9th century A.D., we learn that Devapāla was pleased with Vīradeva who received the king's homage. Vīradeva, son of Indragupta and his wife Rajj(ē)kā belonged to a noble Brahmanical family of Nagarahāra. He visited the diamond-throne at Mahābodhi (or Bodh Gaya) and Yaśovarmapura vihāra in the town of Yaśovarmapura. Later he was appointed administrator (Governor) of Nālandā by the Assembly (Nālandā — paripālanāya niyataḥ saṅgha — sthiter = yah sthitah ....).[104]

I-tsing refers to the Assembly and its function in his account of the Bha-ra-ha monetary at Tāmralipta in West Bengal. He states that whenever anything even a stalk of vegetable, was given (to the priests by other persons, they made use of it through the assent of the Assembly. This monastery had no principal officers; every business was settled by the Assembly. No priest had the right to decide anything by himself or treat the other priests according to his own will without the consent of the Assembly. If he did so he was expelled from the monastery, being called a kulapati because he acted like a householder. The Assembly had the power to select rooms for allotment and distribution to the learned and also new priests. The Assembly could also expel a monk for misconduct.[105] Thus we find that the Assembly of the Bha-ra-ha monastery had an effective control over the monks both old and new, learned or otherwise. The Assembly at Nālandā, in selecting Vīradeva as the Governor of the monastery may have been impressed by the respect shown to Vīradeva by the king. It appears from the account of Hiuen-tsang that a person seeking admission to the Nālandā monastery had to be examined by the Gate-keeper in the Assembly.[106]

A system of admission test, which was regarded as very difficult, used to be conducted by the Gate-Keepers of Nālandā and

103. *Takakusu,* 62.
104. *IA,* XVI, 307-312.
105. *Takakusu,* 65.
106. *Si-yu-ki,* II, 171.

Vikramaśila monasteries. From the nature of the text described by Hiuen-tsang it appears that the post of the Gate-Keeper carried with it a great responsibility which could be entrusted only to a highly learned person. Those who failed at the test, held by the Gate-Keeper, were refused admission.[107] According to the Tibetan tradition recorded by Tāranātha the number of Gate-Keepers was six at the Vikramasila monastery each in charge of a separate Gate, after the reign of Mahipala (10th—11th century A.D.).[108] The six Gate-Keepers named below were eminent logicians:[109]

Ācārya Ratnakara Śānti of the eastern gate; Vāgīśvarakirtī of Banaras of the western gate; Naropa of the northern gate; Prajñākaramati of the southern gate; Ratnavajra of Kashmir of the First Mahāsthamba (the first central gate); Jñāna-śrī-Mitra of Gaḍa in charge of the second Mahāstambha.

Possibly with the decline of the Nālandā University the field of activity of the Vikramaśīla University extended to a considerable extent; the examination system also in course of time became more technical and complicated, requiring the number of Gate-Keepers to be increased in view of the changed situation.

The Karmadāna, was an officer who probably fixed the duties of the inmates, supervised the monastic works,[110] regulated times,[111] arranged the order of procedure at the congregational feast,[112] etc. He was also in charge of the monastic kitchen. In short, the Karmadāna was an officer having some control over the management of the monastic establishment and its inmates. His work was more or less like that of a sub-director, of an institution.

A number of seals discovered at Pāharpur refer to two persons, Dharmasena and Siṁhasena. It is interesting to note that seals bearing their names have also been found at Nālanda. Dikshit holds, 'they must have been two dignataries or officers of the Pāla regime who had charge of supervision of Mahāvihāras.'

107. *Ibid.*
108. Tāranātha, Chapter XXXIII.
109. *Takakusu*, 148.
110. *Ibid*, 145.
111. *Ibid*, 147-149.
112. *EI*, XXI, 97-101.

During the rule of the Pāla kings Dharmapāla and Devapāla — three monsteries attained exceptional prominence, Nālandā, Somapura and Vikramaśilla. Although they managed their own affairs according to their institutional usage and rights they received considerable patronage from the rulers and were sometimes brought under the general supervision of the State exercised by royal nominees. Thus the Ghoshrawa stone-slab inscription of the reign of Devapāla,[113] as already mentioned, refers to Devapāla appointing a monk named Vīradeva as the Governor of the Nālandā University. Similarly, Dīpaṃkara was appointed the Chief High Priest of Vikramaśila by king Mahīpāla I and later as the High Priest of of the same monastery by king Nayapāla. Dharmasena and Siṁhasena, whose names have been found inscribed on some seals form Somapura and Nālandā may have been similarly appointed as officers, to perform some unspecified duties connected with these organisations. There were links between different monasteries, indicated by the fact that the Head of the Vikramaśila monastery also held a similar post at the Nālandā University. A resident of Somapura named Vipulaśrīmitra constructed a temple of Tārā at Somapura and also erected a monastery at Nālandā.[114] Instances of students, monks and scholars migrating from one monastery to another are available. For example, Dīpaṃkara received ordination from Ācārya Bodhibhadra of Nālandā and after having studied there for sometime, went to Odantapurī for further studies. He finally became the Head of the Vikramaśila vihāra. Vairocana rakṣita was a learned Tāntric scholar[115] who visited different monasteries in search of knowledge. We are told that he stayed for sometime at Nālandā and Vikramaśila and received instruction from Paṇḍita Saraṇa — "The Head of the Yogins in the town of Somapura." From an inscription[116] was learn that Vīryendra, a native of Samataṭa, and belonging to Somapura, made a donation at Bhodhgaya. The different universities which had grown up in Bengal and Bihar were thus complimentary to one another, in various fields of official and academic activities. This was possible because they had developed certain common charac-

113. *IA*, XVIII, 311 ff; Ghosh, A., *Guide to Nālanda*, 46.
114. Ghosh, A., *Guide to Nālanda*, 46.
115. *Ibid*, 35; *EI*, XXI, 97-101.
116. *JAS*, 1908-9, 158.

teristics in their aims and functioning. Consequently, when some of the existing universities lost their grandeur, there remained others which continued to give their guidance to those who sought it though on a reduced scale. Śākya Śrībhadra, a learned monk from Kashmir, came to Magadha in 1202 A.D. and visited all the Buddhist centres of learning. When he found that both Odantapurī and Vikramaśīla had been destroyed by the Muslims, he proceeded to Jagaddala, which was still in existence, where he stayed for three years and found many pupils, prominent among them being Danaśīla, and Vibhuticandra. The learned monk. Subhakara Gupta accepted him as his pupil.[117] .

From a study of the organisation of the different Buddhist establishments it may be concluded that from the very beginning due attention had to be given to their economic and administrative problems.

The character of a Buddhist University was naturally much more complicated with its extensive field of activity than a small vihāra where priests resided together and carried on their worship and study only. Even for a small vihāra there were problems regarding its proper organisation as a corporate body controlled by the rules of discipline as laid down in the Buddhist Canon. With the historic development of a University out of relatively small beginnings its organisational requirements had to be adjusted to its expanding size and activities. This necessitated the appointment of various categories of functionaries, each with special duties and responsibilities attached to it. It seems, however, that though in some respects a common pattern of organisation developed the special needs of each institution had to be served and details worked out in keeping with its tradition and the availability of resources under different condtions. This explains the fact that the details gathered are not the same in all cases where such organisations have been described.

117. *Cordier's Catalogue*, II, 293.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA	—	*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.*
BA	—	*The Blue Annals*, trans, G. N. Roerich.
Beal, Travels	—	*Travels of Hiouen-Thsang* by S. Beal, Calcutta, 1958.
EI	—	*Epigraphia Indica.*
ERE	—	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*
HIL	—	*History of Indian Logic*, by Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana, Delhi, 1971. ,
IA	—	*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.
IHQ	—	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
JAS	—	*Journal Asiatic Society*, Calcutta.
JASB	—	*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
JASB (NS)	—	*Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series*, Calcutta.
JVRM	—	*Journal Varendra Research Museum.*
Khan-Mainamati	—	*Excavations at Salban Raja Palace Mound on Mainamati-Lalmai Ridge*, 1965.
Legge	—	*A Record of the Buddhist Kingdom*, by James Legge. (*Travels of Fa-hien*, by James Legge).
Life	—	*The Life of Hiuen-tsang*, by Shaman Hwui Li. Eng. trans. by S. Beal.
MASI	—	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*
RC	—	*Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi.
Si-yu-ki	—	*Buddhist Records of the Western World* by S. Beal.
Takakusu	—	*A Record of the Buddhist Religion by I-tsing.* Trans. by J. Takakusu.
Watters	—	*On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.*

Some Aspects of Military Administration in Medieval India

BY

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

1. *Factors influencing military organisation and development*

Military institutions in a country or state reflect the social system, the national economy, state policy and the level of military art. The influence of the socio-political set up is seen in the nature and aims of the army—its composition, recruitment and training methods. The economic potential of a country directly affects the size and equipment of the army, and hence, indirectly also the organization, techniques of conduct of war,—tactics, operation and strategy. State policy directs the military objectives and the trend of political considerations. The level of military art varying with the development of military science might usher in new weapons which generate new combat methods and so affects the organisational structure, size, character and technique of the army.

Opinions might differ regarding the essentials of a sound organisational structure, or the conditions of a perfect army. But there are certain minimal conditions which can be neglected only at grave peril:

(i) A good military administration or organisation presupposes various factors like a good recruiting system and well-organised system of national reserves, proper combat staff and administrative institutions, suitable system of rewards, a proper system of assignment to command and of directing the principal operations of war, and good system for the commissariat, hospital and of general administration.

(ii) Armaments (for both offensive and defensive purposes) must be superior to those of the enemy.

(iii) Artillery and military engineering as special arms must be well developed and well-instructed.

(iv) A proper system of application of these elements (by a general staff) and an organization for the education of officers in the theory and practice of officers. This demands personnel training.

(v) Discipline must be strict but not humiliating, based on conviction rather than authority. The spirit of subordination must be spontaneous and not imposed from above.

(vi) The military spirit of the people must be roused and the morale kept alive.[1]

2. *Army recruitment—types of Armies*

Military organisation grew up in close conformity to contemporary social and political developments. Ancient and early medieval Indian literature from the Vedic *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas,* the epics, Kautilya's Arthasastra to Chandesvara, deals with the subject of recruitment of the army.. The armies of the Vedic Aryans probably consisted of armed retainers of the king and the tribal host; later on the military profession was restricted to a special class or caste, the Kshatriyas. Ancient and medieval Indian theorists, taking their cue from Kautilya, refer to six types of soldiers (subject to some verbal changes), arranged below in order of preference:

(a) the *maula-bala* (from *mula*), the standing army of the state, the mainstay of the rulers in offensive and defensive wars. It has been interpreted differently by different writers. It might have been recruited from families of hereditary soldiers, depending on land-grants and hence loyal to the ruling dynasty as 'the hard core of men bound to the ruling house by military honour and hereditary loyalty', as Ghoshal explains. The standing army was usually small in size, consisting of feudal contingents, which constituted the bulk of the *maula* army, native force. Kautilya held that a standing army composed exclusively of Kshatriyas was superior to a heterogeneous force. This agrees with Clausewitz's view that only a standing army possesses military virtue.

(b) the *Bhrita* (*Bhritaka-bala, Bhritya*) or hired troops, i.e., volatile mercenaries, coming from different regions.

1. Sokolovskii, ch. 5, 317, 326; Engles, 160; Jomini, 56.

(c) the *Sreni-bala*: This has been differently interpreted as a kind of militia or *land wehr*: as guild levies (members of economic guilds, taking to arms during war or employing soldiers to protect their goods) pressed into service by the king when necessary or as corporations of soldiers (*ayudhajivi sanghas*) or 'companies of men of the same category under their own commanders' as Ghoshal explains. Such a force was not always dependable.

(d) the *mitra-bala* or *Suhrid-bala* or armies of a feudatory or an ally, also unreliable at times.

(e) the *amitra-bala* or *aribala, dvisadbala* (led by Arya Commanders according to Kautilya) or captive or enslaved soldiers of the enemy or those seduced by the aggressor state or deserters from the enemy,—to be used to weaken the latter, but not to be trusted.

(f) the *atavi-bala* (*ātavika*), literally forest or wild tribes or hill men, e.g., *Sabaras, Nishadas, Mlechchas* under their own chiefs. This constitutes an irregular force of aboriginals and tribals. Kautilyas advises the use of the last two categories for plundering enemy territory only, as it was dangerous to use them for other purposes.

On the whole the broad distinction lay between regular professional army maintained by kings and additional levies, feudal or otherwise, depending on need.

There were two kinds of military recruitment according to Sukracharya. (i) The trained *maula,* officered and manned by the State, supplied with weapons and conveyances at state expenses,—the standing army, trained and regimented (*gulmibhuta*), (ii) the untrained *sādyaska,* emergent, improvised militia, enlisted by conscription or voluntary service, untrained and unregimented (*agulmaka*), with their own captains responsible for their own arms, accoutrements and conveyances. These two categories were respectively described as the efficient (*sāra*) and the inefficient (*asāra*). Mention is made of other categories but not to *srenibala* of Kautilya. This might imply that *Srenis* perhaps might have died out then. Such a distinction anticipates the division under the Mughals and the Marathas into *bargirs,* whose horses were

provided by the state and *Sillahdars,* who had to provide their own horses.[2]

3. *Personnel*

The Indian armies were, therefore, heterogeneous. They included not only local recruits of different categories but foreign adventurers as well. In Sind Dahir enlisted 500 Arab troopers under Muhammad Allafi. Kashmir also enlisted mercenaries from Rajputana, Salt Range, the Punjab, Magadh, the Yavanas and Turushkar.

The conquering Muslim army in India was also heterogeneous. The Muslim army in Arabia at first consisted of Arab tribes. But other elements came in after the conquest of Syria and South Iraq and as conquests progressed. Each division (*jund*)) of the army was based on the tribal unit with its own standard, residing in a camp. From the time of the Umayyads, the army became more professional. The Abbasids introduced the mercenary element. The imported Turkish guard in Iraq was like the Roman praetorian guard at Rome. The army swelled up with mercenaries from the north viz., Oghuz and Qipchaq peoples during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Governors of provinces also recruited tribesmen for local defence. It was a composite host of Arabs, Persians, Syrians, Berbers and West Asiatics who conquered Sind.

The problem became acute under the Ghaznavids. Sultan Mahmud had a racially diverse army. It became a vexed question whether the army was to be mono-national (mono-racial) or multi–

2(a) Recruitment and types of armies: The earliest reference to six limbs (*sadanga*) of the army is in the epics and Kautilya, 9.2.11. It is repeated is Kamandaka xviii.2.25f; xix, 4-9; Agni, P. 242.1-2; Niti, P. 22.15; and *Manasollasa,* Vol. I, pp. 79-81, (sl. 556-61) and also found in epigraphs of 6th-11th centuries. See Thomas in CHI.i.489, Kane in *Hist. of Dharmasastra* iii. ch. 8 (*Bala*, army) 200-215: and Ghoshal, HIPL. ii. ch. viii. 157n; Chakravarti, *Art of War in Ancient India,* pp. 3-10. *Sukra,* IV. 7.24; Saletore, *Wild Tribes in Ind. History,* refers to the policy of the Hindu rulers towards wild tribes and describes the following wild tribes: Kirātas, Sabaras, Bedars, and other miscellaneous tribes, the Pulindas, Nisādas, Dasārnas, Mātangas, Pundras, Lambakarnas, Karnapravarnas, Ekapadas, Yaksas and Kinnaras, chs. i-v. Clausewitz, *On War,* i.183. *Storia* ii.459; *Haft Anjuman;* Sen, *Mil. Sys.;* E. & D. i. 156; *Rajtarangini,* Secs. vii and viii.

(b) Recruitment: *Sukra,* iv. 7.9-15.

national (multi–racial). Some came to regard the absence of a strong group of local or native soldiers in the Ghaznavid army as a sign of weakness. But in the eleventh century both Nizam–ul–mulk, the famous author of *Siyasatnamah* and Kaikaus favoured a diverse army. The component nationalities, encamping separately under respective guards, displayed a spirit of emulation on the battlefield. Mutual fear kept the Turki and Indian sections of the palace guards under control and submissive.

A mono-racial bodyguard would make the Sultan its submissive prisoner instead of its master. There were several examples of multi–racial armies in Islam. The Buyid army consisted of Dailamis, Turks and Arabs. The Fatimids (11th century) had Berbers, Negroes, Beduins and Turks as soldiers. The Byzantines had contingents from tributary states and foreign mercenaries. The only pre–requisite was the existence of a strong ruler.

The core of the medieval armies and the Sultan's bodyguards under the Muslim Persian dynasties, the Samanids and the Ghaznavids was the slave contingents (ghilman) of the Turks, Indians, Tajiks, Khurasanis under a *salar–i–ghulaman*. In those days an army of slaves trained for war, without any local connections or roots was considered to be a valuable asset. The personal bond of fealty tended to ensure loyalty. An obedient slave was considered better than a hundred children. The child is said to desire his father's death, the slave his long life. Like the Turks the Indians in Ghaznavid army also lacked home ties and other distracting interests. Like the Arabs and Kurds the Indians had their own commander (*sipah salar–i–Hinduyan* below the *Hajib–i–Buzrug*) and residential quarter in Ghazna. They were to serve as a counterpoise to the Turks and held to be more reliable than the latter. Sultan Muhmūd had Hindu commanders. Maśūd appointed a Hindu translator as commander in spite of resentment at his court. The Indians under Suvendhray alone kept loyal to Sultan Muhammad (1030). The Indian soldiers were good fighters. The orthodox Sultans employed the tenacious pagan Rajputs and under Mahmud they killed the Muslims and Christians of Zaranj mercilessly (1003).[3]

3. Khadduri, 55-7; Bosworth 107-110, 98-101.

Thus the Ghaznavide army contained a battalion of Hindu soldiers but this was perhaps non-existent in the Sultanate period. According to Barani (86) the royal army was accompanied by contingents supplied by Hindu *rais* and *ranas* Ghazi Malik's army had separate divisions of non-Hindu Khokhars. In the Delhi Sultanate exclusive dependence on one section was sought to be avoided. A separate unit of soldiers of each nationality was formed, for,—Fakhr-i-Mudabbir advises,—the essential unity and singleness of purpose would be lacking in a heterogeneous army. At the time of Ghiyasuddin's Delhi attack his army consisted of various nationals. (Ghuzz, Mughals, Rumis, Russians, Tajiks, Khurasanis, etc.).[4] We learn from Qalqashandi that the army of Muhammad bin Tughluq consisted of Turks, Khitais, Persians, Indians and other elements.[5] Slaves constituted an important part of the Sultanate army and had a separate establishment (*diwan-i-bandagan*). Their loyalty was unstinted. Many rose to be commanders, e.g., under Sultan Mahmud. Firuz, whose slaves numbered 1,80,000 had a slave as his *'ariz-i-mamalik*. Sher Shah had several non-Afghan elements.[6]

In general it may be said that the armies of the Delhi Sultans and the Mughal Emperors were also heterogeneous. These also included most of the above types in ancient and early medieval India (except perhaps the third or guild levies) though under different names.

There were, however, some differences. The standing army of the Sultans and the Emperors was small. The medieval army mostly consisted of the forces of the individual nobles or captains. There was no hereditary nobility in Mughal India. On the other hand the Muslims also had hired mercenaries, armies of a friendly power, captive soldiers of the enemy, deserters. The practice of using forest or hill men continued under the Mughals and the Marathas. Mirza Rajah Jai Singh sought to use them during his Deccan campaigns. The Marathas used the Ramoshis, Bhils, Kolis and other predatory tribes with their knowledge of forest by-ways

4. Barani, 86; *Tughluqnama*, 48, 51, 52, 62; *Adab*, 158b; Afif, 436, 471, 476-7.

5. Qureshi, *op.cit.*, 144-145.

6. Elliot & Dowson, iii, 576.

to guard the outposts in the outskirts of a fort and serve as superb watchmen particularly during night.

Under the Mughals individual troopers enlisted under some bigger or richer men, who in turn joined greater commanders.

The commanders of Mughal empire consisted of Mongols, Turks, Uzbegs, Persians, Afghans, Arabs, Rajputs and other Hindus and Feringhis. Officers of trust were not a monopoly of the Mughals only.

In the artillery both the Indian Mussalman and the Rajput soldiers were very inefficient in using fire arms. The Mughals at first depended on foreign Turks and Persians,—Rūmi Khan, Ustad Ali Quli as under Babur. Among the 'many masters to be found among gunmakers' in Akbar's reign Abul Fazl mentions Ustad Kabir and Husayn. The Muslim (viz., Rūmi and Persian) gunners of Babur's days came to be replaced from the time of Akbar by foreigners, the Portuguese from Goa, half caste gunners and Feringhi mercenaries (from Bengal). After Goa fell into neglect and from about the middle of 17h century, European military adventurers began to come to Indian courts (e.g., the Venetian Manucci, the French Rene Medec and C. Perron, and Irishman George Thomas). Europeans were preferred because of their better marksmanship and alertness. In this way technical leadership passed from Muslim to Christian hands while at the bottom were the Indian Christians (*topasses* or *Topchi*).

The Maratha army of Shivaji was a national one. But under the Peshwas it came to consist of many non-Marathi elements—Rajputs, Sikhs, Arabs, Abyssinians, Siddis, Sindhis, Portuguese and Christians and Negro deserters of Goa. The employment of non-Marathi soldiers was first officially mentioned in a document of 1734-35. Sepoys trained in European fashion (called *gardi* from 'guard') were also employed. The Marathas also appointed European officers (Portuguese, English, Dutch and French e.g., De Boigne) and trained battalions.[8]

7. Bernier, pp. 3, 211; Sarkar, *Mil. Hist.*, 150-3; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughals*, chapter xii.

8. Sen, *Military System of the Marathas*, chs. 1,4,7 Intro.

. *Organization of the Army Command: Army Officers:*

In organization and methods military command differs in different states, but everywhere it encompasses all activities and problems connected with the preparation and conduct of war consideration of the aims and nature of the war, the direction concerning preparation, mobilization and deployment of the army and organization of military operations.

In modern times a good general staff to advise a general is considered to be the most useful part of military organization.[9] In ancient and medieval India such an organization was not entirely unknown. There were certain officers of different grades to assist the commander-in-chief. Thus, Kautilya places below the trio of the *senāpati*, *prasāsta* and the *nāyaka*, some other officers in charge of the separate units of the four wings under *mukhyas* and *adhyakshas*. Under the Muslims there were besides the commander-in-chief, the *'ariz* and the *bakhshi*.

What are the qualifications of a commander-in-chief? The most essential ones are: (a) first, courage, both moral and physical. The general must be capable of great resolution and must have no fear of danger. (b) second, some personal qualities like gallantry, sense of justice, firmness, uprightness, capacity to appreciate and utilise and not to be jealous of merit in others. (c) But above all, a general must possess 'great character'. Character is more important than intelligence in war. (d) Scientific and military knowledge: a general need not necessarily be vastly learned but he must be thorough and a perfect master of basic principles of the art of war. Proper performance of military command requires military education, the cannotation of which has changed. Before the Revolutionary epoch in Europe this implied actual participation in battle and knowledge of the practical methods of war. But in an age of expansive warfare study of the theoretical and historical aspects became a fundamental requisite. As Jomini observes: "Correct theories, founded upon right principles, sustained by actual events of wars and added to accurate military history, will form a true school of instruction for generals." (e) Besides intellectual capacity to know and understand strategy,

9. Sokolovskii, 466-7; Jomini, ch. 8, p. 63.

a general must need have the capacity to control the human factor, i.e., leadership, but above all, character. To sum up, there must be a combination of intellect and natural leadership.

It is indeed very surprising that such modern ideas could be traced in ancient and medieval Indian military thought. The *senapati* of Kautilya was expected to have a complete mastery of the art of warfare in theory and practice and apply his knowledge of all military matters, training and fighting tactics etc. in directing the four wings of the army. Śukracharya also sounds an essentially modern note: "Those who are well up in *Nitisastras*, the use of arms and ammunitions, manipulations of battle arrays, and the art of management and discipline, who are not too young, but of middle age, who are brave, self-controlled, able-bodied, always mindful of their own duties, devoted to their masters and haters of enemies should be made commanders and soldiers whether they are Sudras and Kshatriyas, Vaisyas or descended from Mlechchas." This passage is highly significant as it emphasises that appointments in the military department should not be made on caste and religious consideraions. It emphasises the non-caste and secular character of the army and merit as the sole criterion of military service. Kamandaka recommends as follows: "A native of the land, versed in the theory and practice of counsel in *dandaniti*, possessing virtuous qualities of heroism, energy and manliness, large-hearted and generous, a student of the sāstras, one who has few or no enemies but many friends and relatives, self-confident, and of towering personality, one fully acquainted with the actions of the four-fold forces of spies and scouts, skilled in all modes of warfare, one who is a linguist, and who has travelled to foreign countries and fully acquainted with the routes and roads therein, a diplomat, one who evokes confidence from his own troops, one who can fight the enemy and protect his own army, who is able to detect fraud and disguises of spies and messengers, and ever loyal to his country'. This anticipated what Jomini, personifying the intellectual developments in war-machine in Napoleonic era, observed: 'The union of wise theory with great character will constitute the great captain'.

Who will command the army?

Usually it is the head of the state who acts as the commander-in-chief. A masterful ruler or a military genius of the type of

Chandragupta Maurya, Samudragupta, Mahmud of Ghazni, Alauddin Khalji, Akbar, Shivaji, Baji Rao I, Nadir or Ahmad Shah Abdali, Frederick the Great, Peter the Great or Napoleon will like to be commanders themselves and appropriate for themselves the honour and glory of doing great feats. But if the ruler does not lead the army himself for any reason, his first duty is to select a capable commander-in-chief as a suitable substitute.

As a measure of policy Kautilya enjoins the king to have direct control of the army and lays down a chain of military command. The overall charge of the army was entrusted to three officers, the *Senāpati*, the *prasāsta* (in charge of sappers and miners) and the *nāyaka* (in charge of the camping arrangements). On striking the camp, the king occupied the middle position with the *nāyaka* in front and *senāpati* in the rear. The battle array was arranged by the two jointly. The application of the term commander-in-chief was rather loose. Normally he was a kshatriya but Brahmanas were sometimes appointed.[10]

Prophet Muhammad commanded half the number of *jihads*. A caliph could entrust military command to a commander-in-chief. It was of two kinds,—special and general. The special command dealt with military police only, and the special commander had, according to al Mawardi,—

(a) to lead the army, look after individual warriors, inspect horses and equipment;

(b) to conduct the war and encourage the army;

(c) to apply military skill and technique for victory, to defend the army from a sudden attack and to select the best possible strategic position for attack;

(d) to observe military duties, see that no soldier deserts the army.

The general command dealt with diplomatic and military matters, and included, besides the above noted duties, a mandate to negotiate peace, make treaties and direct division of war booty.[11]

10. Commander: Kautilya, viii. 2; 1, 9; 10.6.45; 2.33.9-10; 10.1.1; 10.2.4; *Sukra*, Sarkar's tr. ch. iv, sec. vii. lines 19-27; ch. ii, lines 276-80; 434; Kamandaka, 18.26-42; 19, 31-40., Acc. to *Ranadipika* ministerial advice was sought in war in ancient India till 12th c. A.D. and the number of councillors was not more than three.

11. Khadduri, *Laws of War and Peace in Islam*, 54-55.

During the Sultanate period the Sultan was the commander-in-chief of the army. He often led it in person. In his absence a noble was appointed to do so and was called *Sar-i-lashkar.* But royal emblems, the *Kawkabah* and *Sayaban* signified the presence of the king to whom everyone was to remain loyal. If we believe the *Fatawa-i-Qara Khani,* a majority of the soldiers (*ahl-i-lashkar*) would not be legally bound to obey the order of the commander, which might cause endless loss of life.[12]

Vijayanagar borrowed the idea of the commander-in-chief (*dandanayaka* or *dannayaka* or *senadhipati,* later on called *dalavāyi*) from the Hoysalas. He had under him several *nāyaks* or officials. Vijayanagar had "a centralised military department" (*Kandāchāra*), having rules and customs, hierarchical organization of officers and numerous staff of persons who rendered indispensable services during a campaign.[13]

The Mughal Emperor was the commander-in-chief in theory and practice. Under the Mughals a strong and energetic emperor used to lead his army. Sometimes, however, the emperor selected the commander-in-chief on particular campaigns. It was usual to send two commanders, one acting as a check on the other, as a safeguard against ambition or disloyalty. This, in practice, weakened the army by causing dissension.[14]

The need of consultation with advisers in civil and military matters alike was stressed by ancient and medieval writers and theorists. Long ago the epic statesman Bhīṣma made victory depend on deliberation and intelligence. Kamandaka advised consultation with wise and loyal men with experience of military science, as the power of ministerial deliberation was superior to brute force. But the war council was nothing but an advisory body.

The importance of consulting the military commanders even in civil appointments, namely that of the wazir, the chief civil dignitary, was stressed under the Samandis and later under the

12. Adab, 205b, 206a; *Is. Culture,* 1937, pp. 461-2, based on Khazain, 50, 70, 79, 82, 139, 144, 147; Barani, 328, 24, 153; Quran Khwani, 305b, 306a.

13. Vijayanagar in Razzaq, E. & D., iv. 108. Saletore, I. 436, based on Paes, Nuniz, Barbosa and Sewell.

14. Irvine, *Army,* 297-8.

Mongols. There was a war council (*majlis-i-maliki*) to advise the commander during the Sultanate period and its members were called *ra'izaman-i-lashkar* and shared the responsibility of conducting the campaign. Foreign travellers like Barbosa and Nuniz refer to a war council consulted by the king of Vijayanagar. Ferishtah tells us that Deva Ray II (c. 1437-8) held a council of nobles and chief Brahmans to ascertain the causes of defeat of Vijayanagar at the hands of the Bahmani Kingdom notwithstanding its larger area, population, revenue and army. Leaving aside the fatalistic approach of some who ascribed the defeat to divine decree, we may consider two tangible explanations given. One was that the Muslim horses were stronger, and could endure more fatigue than the 'weak animals' of Karnatak. The second was that the Hindu archers were inferior to those of the Bahmani kingdom which had a large number of 'excellent archers'. Thereupon Deva Ray II enlisted many Muslims, granting them estates, building a mosque and placing a Koran before the throne to enable them to offer obeisance. Secondly, he made the Hindu soldiers learn the art of archery and collected 2,000 Muslims and 60,000 Hindus, all well-skilled in archery.

The practice of military consultation was also prevalent amon the Mongols and Turks in Central Asia. It was also followed by the Great Mughals in India. Shivaji also consulted his advisers and officers before taking any important decision.[15]

(b) The *'Ariz* and the *Bakhshi*.

Under the Ghaznavides the *'Ariz,* perhaps a Sassanian institution, ranked next to the *wazir* and his department (*diwan*-i *'arz*) directed the organization, commissariat, musters, annual reviews, and pay and allowances (*bistagāni*) of the army. There were subordinate officers, quartermasters '(*arizs* and *katkhudas*) in the provinces. These officers were usually held by Persians and not by Turks, as administrative rather than military ability was required here. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir described the procedure of inspection.

In the ministry of war of Delhi Sultanate (*Diwan i 'arz*) the *'ariz-i-mumalik* (entitled *Imad ul Mulk*) was responsible for

15. Kamandaka, 12, 7; 13, 1-2; Barthold, *Turkestan*. 228-9; Barbosa, 224; Sewell, 72, 324-5; Mahalingam, ch. 5; Briggs iii. 78-9; ii. 430-1.